

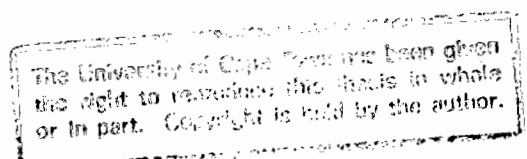
AUTHORITARIANISM REVISITED:
A STUDY AMONG AFRIKAANS AND ENGLISH
MIDDLE-CLASS WOMEN

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DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
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ABSTRACT

This study explored the concept of authoritarianism from a social group perspective. It was argued that authoritarian social attitudes are derived from social categorisations (underpinned by ideological beliefs) which maintain imbalances in power and authoritarian social structures and practices. Historical analyses have found ideologies of nationalism, militarism, conspiracy and patriarchy operative among Afrikaans-speakers. It was argued that these ideologies underpin Altemeyer's (1981) Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) scale, and that Afrikaans-speakers would therefore score significantly higher than English-speakers on the RWA scale. Exploratory investigations compared a group of 97 white, Afrikaans-speaking, middle-class women in the age group 30-45, with a matched sample of 101 English-speaking women, on the RWA scale. It was argued that among Afrikaners, the mentioned ideologies are legitimated by a religious discourse. A measure of Christian Orthodoxy (SCO) was therefore included. A correlation between RWA and Racism, as measured by Duckitt's (1990) Subtle racism (SR) scale was demonstrated in previous research. This finding was investigated in the study. The Washington University Sentence Completion test (WUSCT) served as a control measure of adherence to social norms. Afrikaans women were expected to score significantly higher on the RWA, SCO and SR measures, and to show less variability in their responses to these scales, and to the WUSCT. This hypothesis was confirmed, suggesting that Afrikaans-speakers adhere to group ideologies more than English-speakers do. SR and RWA correlated significantly in combined and group data sets, supporting the findings in past research. SR and SCO, and RWA and SCO correlated in the combined data set. The RWA, SR and SCO scales demonstrated validity and reliability.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The study will revisit authoritarianism from a social group perspective. The notion of the unified transcendent individual who has authoritarian personality traits will be questioned in view of a social constructionist theorisation of subjectivity. Drawing on social identity theory it will be argued that subjectivity is constructed in the process of categorisation. The self, others and objects are categorised in terms of salient social categorisations, which are generated by group-congruent attitudes and behaviour derived from the collective group social identity. The group attitudes are likened to ideological beliefs which are historically and socially specific. A critical conception of ideology is adopted which views ideology as expressed in all the symbolic forms of social interaction i.e. linguistic structures, sign systems, actions, complex images and texts, that are employed to sustain asymmetrical power relations. Social attitudes reflect underlying ideologies which sustain the imbalance in power and maintain domination and authoritarian social structures and practices. The study of authoritarianism therefore involves a historically specific analysis of the ideologies operative in the South African social context, a study of the social attitudes of South Africans, and an investigation to determine whether authoritarian social attitudes relate to ideological beliefs operative in the society. This is an ambitious endeavour, which is not possible within the limitations of this study. Exploratory work with one cultural group, white Afrikaans-speakers will be undertaken, as analyses of the ideologies operative in this group have been conducted by historians. A group of English-speakers will be compared with the group of Afrikaans-speakers as some measure of control.

As it will be shown in the study, socio-demographic variables have been shown to effect levels of prejudice. The study cannot investigate all these aspects. An attempt will be made to eliminate contaminating variables, by selecting a sample which is more or less homogeneous. The sample will therefore comprise white, middle-class Afrikaans- and English-speaking women, in the age group 30-45 years. I will argue that the Right-wing authoritarianism scale measures attitudes which are derived from ideologies of nationalism, militarism, patriarchy and conspiracy. These ideologies, as well as racist discourses, have been shown to operate among Afrikaners. I will argue that the dominant religious discourse legitimates these ideologies and accounts for the particular impact which they have on the social attitudes of Afrikaans-speakers. Finally, I will argue that individual differences between group members may be understood as the result of exposure to different ideological beliefs.

In view of the limitation in length of this dissertation, I am in various instances unable to discuss issues pertaining to the theoretical position adopted in the study, or to research findings, and will refer the reader to relevant reviews.

The Authoritarian Personality

Research on the construct of authoritarianism in South Africa, acknowledges it as a social **group** phenomenon, as reflected in a number of studies about the authoritarian Afrikaans-speakers (e.g. Heaven & Stones, 1979; Heaven, 1980a; 1980b; 1983; Mynhardt et al, 1979; Van Staden, 1987). However, the explanation of the phenomenon has been from an **individual** psychological perspective founded in the conceptualisation of a personality construct of nine co-varying traits (e.g. conventionalism, authoritarian aggression, power and toughness) by Adorno et al (1950). The authors intuitively developed an F scale to measure the traits of the authoritarian personality (Sanford, 1986). The theory generated a wave of enthusiastic research, as the scale developed in the study yielded a comparable score of a person's potential to commit atrocities such as the anti-semitic deeds suffered by the Jewish nation in the second world war.

Despite the fact that serious methodological issues have been raised with regard to the F scale (particularly the problem of acquiescence as all items were phrased positively), current researchers have not been discouraged by the limitations of the scale (e.g. Savita, 1990; Randall, 1991). Attempts have been made to re-conceptualise authoritarianism and to address the faulty psychometric properties of the F scale. Ray's (1976, 1984, p213) conceptualisation of authoritarianism as "the desire or tendency to impose one's own will on others", measured by his Directiveness Scale, was well received in the South African context. See Duckitt (1990) for a review of South African studies, and Ray (1989) for a review of research in Australia. Altemeyer (1981; 1988) developed his Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale and, retrospectively, on the basis of factor analysis of the scale, defined authoritarianism as the covariation of three attitudinal clusters - i.e. authoritarian aggression, authoritarian submission and conventionalism. By implication authoritarianism is a static, universal construct which may be identified by a specific set of attitudes measured by an instrument which is applicable to any cultural-historical context. Altemeyer's conceptualisation therefore does not recede from the individual psychological perspective of his predecessors, who view authoritarianism as attitudes displayed by a unified, transcendent individual at any historical moment in any cultural context.

Critical theorists (e.g. Sampson, 1989) however, argue against the view of a unified, transcendent entity, the individual, and emphasise the dialectical interpenetration of society and the individual in which neither has full primacy. The notion of a unified universal individual was particularly challenged and deconstructed within post structuralist literary writings and linguistic analysis. Habermas (in Sampson, 1989) for example, demonstrated through historical analysis of the organisational principles of society how the principles operative at particular periods in history produced the kind of character necessary to function within the principles of the environment. In a liberal capitalist society, for example, liberal capitalist principles determine how the individual understands himself/herself and others in relation to the social environment. Different meanings and realities of personhood - i.e. ideologies, are produced. These persons in turn reproduce the ideologies and therefore maintain the status quo of the society. From this perspective, authoritarian attitudes are a function of the ideology of a particular historical cultural context. To elaborate on this thesis it seems useful to incorporate two theoretical models: Jacques Derrida's deconstructive analysis of human subjectivity, and social identity theory.

Derrida's deconstructive analysis

Although this study does not attempt deconstruction approaches, it is appropriate to mention Derrida's deconstruction of the notion of the subject which challenges the view of an integrated, whole, self-contained person. His theorisations have also elicited intense debate within philosophical and literary writings. See, for example, Norris, 1992; Frank, 1992 and Rorty, 1992. Derrida bases his deconstruction of personhood on his critique of the Western tradition of privileging speech over writing. What is observable in the here and now is privileged above what is absent from immediate perception. He argues that speech is always already inhabited by writing. By implication presence is always already inhabited by absence. Speech, though apparently present, is mediated by a non-present trace. Derrida employs the Saussurian view that language and communication are the products of a system of differences. The distinctions between sound forms in a language happen on the basis of their differences. In the same way meanings in a language evolve in the definition of differences and not on the basis of substances that are fully present. Therefore, what we view as immediate presence is the outcome of a complex, never-ending process of difference and deferral. In Derrida's view there is not an opposition between presence and absence, but the one is defined by the other. Presence is mediated through absence. Absence and presence interpenetrate.

Applying his theorisation to the formation of personhood Derrida argues that self-consciousness and thus identity is an indirect, mediated experience. It is mediated by social and historical processes which are not immediately present but are contained in our language and other sign systems. The self is experienced through socio-historical traces contained in ideological beliefs which are transmitted through language and other sign systems. Subjectivity is constructed through and in a symbolic order that is governed by a process of difference and deferral which is always already inhabited by "an absence". By getting to know the meanings conveyed in symbolic forms i.e. linguistic structures, sign systems, actions, complex images and texts, a subjective sense of identity is formed. Meanings are attributed to particular objects, features and processes through the process of signification (Spivak, 1976; Sampson, 1989). Signification is a central moment in the process of representation, "the process of depicting the social world and social processes, of creating a sense of how things 'really are'" (Miles, 1989, p70). The objects, features and processes then carry a special significance and become a sign of the existence of some other real or hypothesised phenomenon. In this view, the sense of continuity of the person, the "I-ness", is derived from the prescriptions of a culturally constituted symbolic order and engagement within that order. Ideologies provide a fixed point of origin and prescribe cultural and institutional practices and requirements.

In Derrida's view, an inquiry about subjectivity therefore necessitates an investigation of the ideologies operative in the social context in which the individual develops an understanding of the self and others in relation to the social world. Ideological beliefs may be likened to social stereotypes (Foster, 1991). Stereotypes are not produced in isolation in the minds of individuals, but are transmitted in the social group process (Tajfel, 1981a; 1981b). Social identity theory, particularly self-categorisation theory which developed in the later writings in social identity theory, offers an explanation of the interactional transmission of ideological beliefs (stereotypes) between the individual and the group.

Social Identity Theory (SIT)

SIT has four interlinked main tenets: social categorisation, social identity, social comparison and psychological group distinctiveness. Self-categorisation and categorisation of others is pivotal in understanding group process. Individuals place themselves and others in groups through the cognitive process of categorising i.e. differentiating, by evaluating the differences and similarities of objects and people (Brown & Turner, 1981). The notion of self-categorisation recognises the agency of the individual. Individuals categorise themselves in terms of a salient social

categorisation. These categories generate group-congruent attitudes and behaviour, which lead to the formation of a collective group social identity (Hogg & Turner, 1987). The self concept has two parts, the personal identity and the social identity. Through identification with the group, individuals internalise the social categories of the group, and these become the social identity part of the self concept. As the individual similarly influences the group categorisations, identification can be defined as an interactive dialectical process between the individual and the group which happens in a social context. The individual's attitudes (categorical distinctions) therefore resemble those generally held by group members. They are socially shared systems of beliefs or stereotypes (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Louw-Potgieter (1991) argues that social categories are linguistic structures which have a differentiating and an integrating function. Linguistic structures are expressions of the social nature of language and transmit the meaning of the content of categories to group members, which allows the individual to identify with the category and internalise it as part of the self concept. An aspect of identity may change as the content of the category changes.

The notion of the transmission of attitudes is central to social identity theory. There is however, much controversy about the nature of attitudes. The relationship between cognitions, affect and behaviour is a major unresolved issue. See Duckitt (1990) and Foster (1991) for an in-depth review of the literature.

Drawing on social identity theory, Duckitt (1989; 1991) proposed a reconceptualisation of authoritarianism from a social point of view. Duckitt's theorisation favours the group cohesiveness analysis of group behaviour rather than the self-categorisation theory approach. He argues that the underlying theme which binds the three attitudinal clusters outlined by Altemeyer (1981) can be seen as expressions of an intense and insecure identification with a social group, and a consequent emphasis on, and demand for, group cohesion. Group cohesion requires adherence to a normative belief that personal inclinations of group members should be subordinated to the group requirements, resulting in the first attitudinal cluster of authoritarian submission. Behavioural and attitudinal conformity with ingroup norms are required, which explains the phenomenon of conventionalism. Thirdly, there is an intolerance towards persons not conforming to ingroup norms and rules - hence authoritarian aggression. The group processes mustered to preserve group cohesion may well be operative in the South African social context. See, for example, Giddens' (1991) thesis that in an insecure, changing social environment existential anxiety may be a concomitant process in the search of self-identity. The group cohesiveness approach, however, implies that a transcendental universal group process underpins

authoritarianism. Viewing authoritarianism from a self-categorisation theory approach social attitudes change as the group beliefs (ideologies) with regard to self and others change. This theorisation of course does not escape the universalist notion that it is intrinsic to human nature to identify with group norms in the construction of subjectivity.

Viewing authoritarianism within this social framework the perspective on social conformity changes. In attitudinal research, particularly in the area of prejudice, social conformity has been treated as a separate variable among other variables. One focus in the investigations was the question of whether social conformity may account for phenomena such as prejudice. See Duckitt (1990; 1991) for a review. Social conformity is understood as being the result of group pressure to perform. Thus in some instances research has focused on establishing that there is a strong correlation between social conformity and prejudice. It is argued that where prejudice is normative in a society the trait of social conformity will emerge as a correlational variable. Tredoux (1991) argues that social conformity does not necessarily relate to group pressure but may also be a result of the social influence that the group exerts. The influence of minorities illustrates the point. The central determinant here is not the pressure to conform, but the consistency of the minority in drawing attention to the creativity of its alternative position. Others are then inspired to choose the proposed categorisation and change their behaviour in relation to the newly adopted category. Within the theoretical perspective adopted in this study, social conformity is not viewed as an either/or choice between group pressure to perform or social influence. Group ideology manifests in all the symbolic forms of social interaction and provides the texts for categorisation of self and others, which is in fact a process of conformity to social norms. How a person interprets everyday experiences and possible positionings open to him/her within the discourses, is influenced by the ideological beliefs provided by the social group - i.e. a process of social influence. The texts are written in a particular socio-historical context and are continuously being re-written, but provide a point of origin for the way in which the individual makes sense of herself/himself and others in relation to the social context. The texts do not lead to a unified, consistent and necessarily predictable set of behaviours, as situational context, emotional investment (Henriques et al, 1984) and other psychological variables (Duckitt, 1991) influence the choices which are made within the range of discourses of daily life.

The concept of ideology, however, involves much controversy in itself. See Foster (1991) for a review. The position adopted within this controversy will be outlined briefly.

Ideology

Foster (1991) reviews the history of the concept, and suggests an integration of the classical Marxist view of ideology, with later contributions by theorists such as Althusser, Therborn, J.B. Thompson and Robert Miles.

A distinction is drawn between a neutral and a critical conception of ideology. In the neutral type of ideology, phenomena characterised as ideology are not by implication necessarily misleading, illusory or aligned with the interests of any particular group. Critical conceptions of ideology on the other hand convey a negative sense. It is a collective social process which operates to sustain asymmetrical relations of power. In this view ideology is a dynamic ever-changing process which may involve contradicting clashing ideologies, or alternatively intersecting and supporting themes which maintain forms of domination. The phenomena characterised as ideology are misleading, illusory or one-sided. Studying ideology within a critical conception involves studying the ways in which symbolic forms (expressions of ideology) are employed and understood by individuals in structured social contexts where asymmetrical power relations are sustained. Ideology is "meaning in the service of power" (Thompson, 1990, p7). An analysis of power and domination is situated within the relation between action and structure. Action refers to the intervention of agents in the social world, social institutions and social structures. Social structure refers to the elements necessary for the continuation of society and the elements which are necessary for a particular type of society. Power is the capacity to maintain domination and is exercised through action and social structure in the symbolic forms in which meaning is conveyed (Thompson, 1984; 1990).

I have argued that the ideological beliefs in the group structure the way in which an individual views herself/himself and others. Within the critical conception of ideology the ideological beliefs are construed in the group process to maintain particular power relations and social structures in a society. It follows, therefore, that where attitudes are of an authoritarian nature, these attitudes are generated to maintain the authority of one (or more) over others, as the very nature of authoritarianism relates to an imbalance in power and domination of one (or more) persons over others. In the South African context the white groups have maintained power and dominated in social and political structures (which are presently subordinated to negotiations). Within the white groups patriarchal authoritarian structures have resulted in various forms and sites of oppression and control of women (see Foster, 1991, for examples). Some social attitudes in South Africa enforce the authoritarian system. Ideas about others (e.g. Blacks or women) or about the equitable

authority of the government, maintain the power relations. Revisiting authoritarianism involves a study of the nature of social attitudes to see whether they are generally held as, for example, embodied in Altemeyer's (1981) RWA scale, but it also involves a study of the ideologies operative in the South African context, and the investigation of a possible link between the ideologies and the social attitudes embodied in the RWA scale.

Attitudinal research comparing the social attitudes of Afrikaans- versus English-speakers in the area of intergroup relations has found the attitudes of these two groups quite different, with Afrikaans-speakers being more conservative, racist and authoritarian than English-speakers. See Foster & Nel (1991), Louw-Potgieter (1987) and Duckitt (1990; 1991) for an overview and critique of the findings. These authors have raised methodological issues such as the use of faulty measuring instruments, and theoretical issues such as the fact that research has generally been conducted from an individualist approach whereby differences are ascribed to psychological variables. However, as differences have been found in the attitudes of the groups the study will operate on the assumption that the groups are different in their attitudes. The ideologies which are ascribed to Afrikaans-speakers in this country, were discussed at length by MacCrone, 1930; O'Meara, 1983; Du Toit, 1983; Burman & Reynolds, 1986; Du Preez, 1987; Cock & Nathan, 1989 and Foster, 1991, among others. The focus of the study will be on the Afrikaans group, using the English group as a control group.

Ideologies operative among Afrikaans-speakers

Miles (1989) points out that an investigation of ideologies operative in a social context involves a historically specific analysis to outline the circumstances which have structured the determination, content and expression of these ideologies. Of the ideologies ascribed to white Afrikaans-speakers in this country, the ideologies of Racism, Afrikaner Nationalism, Patriarchy, Militarism, and Conspiracy are of relevance to authoritarianism. As the historical analyses (of O'Meara, 1983; Du Toit, 1983; Burman & Reynolds, 1986; Du Preez, 1987; Cock & Nathan, 1989 and Foster, 1991, among others) cannot be summarised within the prescribed length of this dissertation, a broad definition of each of these ideologies will be given. The definitions will be followed by a proposed grouping of the RWA scale items in relation to these ideologies.

Conceptualising ideologies of Racism, Nationalism, Patriarchy, Militarism and Conspiracy

Racism: Miles (1989) distinguishes between racism, racialisation and institutional racism. Racism is an ideology which has a content - a coherent theory or an assembly of attributions, images and stereotypes, based on the division of races according to biological characteristics. Racialisation is the process through which the ideology is implemented - a dialectical process of signification, which through social categorisations provides a basis for social practices such as exclusion from institutions.

Nationalism: functions on the assumption of universal divisions inherent to human nature, but has an additional assumption that the 'nation' can only express itself historically where it occupies exclusively a given territory where the 'people' can govern themselves (Anderson in Miles, 1989).

Militarism: Cock's (1989) conceptualisation of a militaristic ideology resembles the distinction of Miles (1989) on racism. The content of Militarism as an ideology in South Africa involves an acceptance of organised state violence as a legitimate solution to conflict. Militarisation as a social process involves a mobilisation for war on political, economic and ideological levels. The military as a social institution takes the shape of an armed force (Cock, 1989).

Patriarchy: generally refers to those particular ideologies which maintain the domination of men over women (Foster, 1991). A wider definition which includes the domination of some men over other men is suggested. These relations of domination result from an apportioning of power according to social and economic class and race (Bleier, in Foster, 1991) or from the hierarchical structures and practices developed in a particular socio-historical context. The patriarchal ideology, operative in power relations between men, may give rise to different structures and practices than in the patriarchal discourses between men and women (see Foster, 1991) but they originate from the same system of male dominance. For example, the patriarchal ideology is acutely present within Christian religious discourses. There is an assumption that the Divinity created a hierarchical structure whereby the minister/priest (patriarch) is imbued with divine power, which enables him to interpret to the congregation of women and men, what the courses of their lives should be. A recent publication by a Biblical scholar illustrates how this ideology is perpetuated: "Given **decisive leadership**, especially from the churches, religious communities are ideally placed to initiate, guide and internalise change. Of critical importance are institutions of theological training. The question is whether they are producing people who are not only

prepared for a totally new situation, but who can guide, sustain and effect change in a positive and constructive manner" (Lategan, 1991, p15).

Conspiracy: The central assumption underlying conspiracy theory, is that a threatened group sees outsiders (usually an alien minority) as acting in conspiracy to cause the wrongs in their society. It divides people into good and bad groups (Moscovici, in Foster, 1991).

Ideology and the RWA scale

The attitudes measured by the RWA scale may be interpreted as pertaining to ideologies of Nationalism, Militarism, Religion, Patriarchy and Conspiracy (see Table 1.1 for a proposed interpretation of the underlying themes). If there is disagreement with the content of the items, e.g. item 8: there is nothing wrong with pre-marital sexual intercourse, it may be understood as agreement with the opposite notion that there is something wrong with pre-marital sex. (See Appendix A for the RWA scale).

Table 1.1 Ideologies underlying Right-wing Authoritarianism Scale Items

	Ideologies				
	Nationalism	Militarism	Religion	Patriarchy	Conspiracy
Scale Items	1,3,9,10,12	3,9,10,12,	3,5,14	2,4,5,6,7	3,8,9,12
		13,18,21,22		23,24,26	
	20,22	8,11,13,15,	21,22,23,		
	24,29			30	28
	16,17,18,19,	26,27,30			
					20,21,28,29,
					30

Items 4, 6, 8, 19, 20 and 28 were included in the patriarchal ideology, as these may be social conventions which Western societies generally adhere to (Altemeyer's notion of conventionalism), but they are particularly part of the Afrikaans religious-cultural discourses promulgated by the patriarchal figures in these contexts, even though these items do not express religious/patriarchal

relations as such (see for example Le Roux, 1986). The ideologies of Nationalism, Militarism and Conspiracy underpin the items which tap authoritarian aggression and submission, as defined by Altemeyer (1981). Some items have therefore been listed under two or more ideologies. As illustrated in Table 1.1, themes overlap, intersect and support each other. The conclusion may be drawn that the RWA scale developed by Altemeyer (1981) can be employed in South Africa to see whether these social attitudes are operative to maintain the power relations in the South African context. Duckitt (1990, Studies 2 and 3) found this to be the case.

This view of authoritarianism seems similar to Adorno et al's (1950) investigation, which found correlations between ideological variables of conservatism, militarism, nationalism and religiosity with cognitive variables of ambiguity and rigidity (Eckhardt, 1991). However, Adorno et al (1950) adopted a universalist individualist approach, as opposed to the social constructionist view of this dissertation.

The ideologies of Nationalism, Racism, Militarism and Patriarchy seem to be underpinned and legitimated by another ideology, namely a particular religious ideology.

Ideologies of Nationalism, Racism, Militarism and Patriarchy, legitimated by Religion

Thompson (1990) outlines some modes in which ideologies may be operative to sustain power relations, as set out in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Ideology: Modes of Operation

General mode	Some typical strategies of symbolic construction
Legitimation	Rationalisation; Universalisation; Narrativisation
Dissimulation	Displacement; Euphemisation; Trope (e.g. metaphors)
Unification	Standardization; Symbolisation of unity
Fragmentation	Differentiation; Expurgation of the other
Reification	Naturalization; Eternalization; Nominalization (Thompson 1990, p60).

These modes of operation may overlap and reinforce one another. The strategies are not seen as the only relevant ones, or as uniquely associated with these modes, and may in other circumstances serve other purposes.

Legitimation refers to the process by which domination is justified through rationalisation of a social order on traditional or charismatic grounds, by presenting the social relations as if they serve the interests of all. Through narrativisation, stories which recount the past are treated as truths or timeless tradition. Transitory, historical processes may be presented as if they were universal and fixed. The legitimating power of the religious ideology within which the ideologies of nationalism, militarism, patriarchy and racism were framed in the history of the Afrikaner volk warrants particular emphasis. There seems to be agreement among historical writers that a myth had been generated among the Afrikaners that the volk was God's chosen people and that separateness as a nation and protection of "volks-eiegoed" was therefore Biblically founded (see Botha, 1984, for a review). In most writings the Calvinist religious origin of this ideology is dated in the 18th century. Du Toit (1983) argues that a historical analysis proves this assumption to be incorrect. The historical myth that the frontier trekboere felt a special calling as God's chosen people was produced by Afrikaners themselves from about the turn of the 20th century. O'Meara (1983) founds the development of the Christian-nationalist ideology in a broadly Calvinist Weltanschauung with its fundamental devotion to the principle of the absolute sovereignty of God in every sphere of life, and a system of elective grace for the privileged. It became the framework through which the issues of material life, such as the developing crisis in agriculture, were posed. This ideology was produced and reproduced to justify (legitimate) the social order. While agreeing with Du Toit (1983) about the historical time at which the myth was generated Botha (1984) does not support the notion that the myth was rooted in the Calvinist ideology but argues that Afrikaners likened the history of the volk to the history of the Biblical Jewish nation, who saw themselves as God's chosen people.

Rintner's (in Botha, 1984, p136) thesis is that "the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) played the leading role in the formulation of Apartheid....and gave doctrinal substance to Afrikaner racist beliefs casting racist prejudices into an ideological mould, moving ideas from the level of political culture - that is widely-shared but implicitly held beliefs - to the schematic carefully-structured ideology underpinning of the present regime's programme of the total physical separation of races" (sic). Botha raises certain issues with her thesis (see Botha, 1984), but cannot negate the argument that the DRC facilitated the "oorgang van 'n pragmatiese na 'n meer prinsipiële benadering" (Botha, 1984, p152). The principles of apartheid were justified on Biblical grounds

and became part of the dogma promulgated by the DRC. Marais (1986) provides evidence of the process whereby the DRC until 1960 openly propagated and advised the legislation of apartheid. He points out that the process became much more subtle after 1970.

The power of religious ideology is vested in its claim that it provides an origin, a beginning, a source of absolute truth in itself. An ideology which consists of a set of axioms certainly adds legitimacy to any other discourse which uses it as a point of departure. This has been the case in the Afrikaans social practices and structures. For example, the practice of reminding women at the wedding ceremony of Paul's letter to the Corinthians, where he states that Christ is the head of men, as the man is the head of his wife, surely legitimates the patriarchal discourse with its oppression of women in the family structure and the social roles for men and women. Lategan (1991) by implication supports the notion of the legitimating power of religion: "religion has two important advantages in its favour. It is the only product of our interaction with reality that provides the possibility of transcending specific human interests (Hofmeyer, 1985:169), thereby enabling people to take a step back from themselves and their situation opening the way for fundamental social criticism. In the South African context it is also the largest common denominator among its peoples, representing a potential shared system of values to which an appeal can be made" (sic) (Lategan, 1991, p15).

However, not all members of a group are committed to group norms to the same degree. Botha (1984) discusses the strong protest of, for example, B.J. Marais and B.B. Keet against the acceptance of the dogmatic justification of Apartheid on Biblical grounds. The struggle of Beyers Naudé against the system of Apartheid in the DRC is well-known. Various psychological factors such as ego development, education, cognitive sophistication and socio-economic status have been implemented to explain the individual differences in social attitudes in the area of intergroup relations (see Duckitt, 1990; 1991). Loevinger (1966, 1976, 1985; Loevinger & Wessler 1970; Loevinger *et al*, 1970) proposed a link between some of these variables and argues that the extent to which an individual is able to express attitudes which do not conform to those generally held by group members, depends on a person's ego development. The more developed ego is more able to live with the cognitive and emotional dissonance between her ideas and those of her social group. Loevinger (1976 & 1985) locates her theory of ego in a broad humanistic view. This provides a definite conceptualisation of the ego as an organism, an inborn structure which is active, flexible and can adapt to the demands of different environments. It is the frame and central construct of the personality, and contains a content of well-defined traits. Different factors and rules play a role, but there is an ordered sequence along which personality structures develop.

Although, as discussed earlier, this view of personality development may be viewed as problematic (see Slugoski and Ginsberg, 1989, for a critique of Erikson's model of development), Loevinger's work provides a useful framework for an empirical study of the type presented here.

It falls outside the scope of the study to investigate the reasons for individual differences in ideological beliefs as the emphasis in the study is on the homogeneity of the attitudes in a group. However, within the theoretical framework adopted in the study individual differences among members are understood as a difference in members' ideological beliefs. It may be argued that exposure to different ideologies creates an awareness of alternative positionings that are open in the discourses of every day life. Louw-Potgieter (1988) viewed Afrikaner identity from a social group perspective by applying SIT in a study of Afrikaner dissent i.e. non-conformity to group beliefs and behaviours. While some participants "left" the Afrikaner group others acknowledged that they retained an Afrikaner identity but saw their social identity as quite different from the traditional "model". Three main factors were outlined in participants' explanations for their own processes of change and dissent:

i) contact with outgroups; ii) value conflict: rooted in a process of becoming aware of the inconsistencies between two or more values, inconsistencies between theoretical and expressed societal values, and inconsistencies about the recipients of these values; iii) exposure to alternative ideas, for example, ideas encountered at local or overseas universities (Louw-Potgieter, 1988). A central theme in quotations seems to be that change was brought about by exposure to different ideologies. One person said "convictions that were very often no more than feelings regarding universal moral values, were given 'an intellectual basis' by study overseas". Another person said he had changed his "philosophy of life". Louw-Potgieter (1988) observed that, "The process of change also involved the construction of a new identity, sometimes coupled with the anxiety of arriving at a new, static and stifling identity or the fear of being re-absorbed into the old group" (Louw-Potgieter, 1988, p31). According to another participant, "Dissidence does not only force one to abandon comfortable, established opinions or standards and to justify one's standards, but also to recreate an own life-world, also to redefine reality" (Louw-Potgieter, 1988, p32). For some one else this redefinition meant the realisation of a broader group membership: "It was a new vision, a philosophy of life, that has helped me to see black people in a new light, and also to see myself in a new light, namely as an Afrikaner who is also an African" (Louw-Potgieter, 1988, p32).

Duckitt (1991) says that in research in highly prejudiced societies, it has been found that socio-demographic variables partitioned groups into subgroupings which were more homogeneous

in the level of prejudice internally. The groupings differed significantly from each other in general levels of prejudice. It may be that higher socio-economic status allows access to resources which are not available to a lower socio-economic group. External input by the media or in tertiary education exposes the individual to different ideas and may change perceptions.

AIMS OF THE STUDY

The general aim of the study is to revisit authoritarianism from a social group perspective. I have developed a theoretical argument that the presence of authoritarian social attitudes indicates that there are ideologies operative in the social context which maintain an imbalance in power relations. Silverman (1992) conducts an analysis of the racialisation of immigration in France which started at the end of the 1960s. His study provides a theoretical rationale for the understanding of group processes supported by this dissertation. Silverman (1992) argues that a myth was generated that previous white European immigrants were easily assimilated within the French cultural context. On the other hand, cultural and national differences between the French and non-Europeans, especially those from North Africa were emphasised. In the immigration discourses economic problems were reconstructed as social problems resulting from cultural differences. These discourses legitimated a state intervention to change the open-door immigration policy. In addition, the conclusions drawn in a discussion of attitudes by Foster & Nel (1991) support the theoretical position adopted in this study. "For a deeper understanding of the origins of race prejudice it is suggested that ideology as a social process must be incorporated....It is also apparent that racial attitudes in South Africa have a good deal to do with social identities, which are carved out through ideological processes" (Foster & Nel, 1991, p150). Although Foster & Nel (1991) are referring to prejudiced attitudes, other social attitudes (e.g. authoritarian aggressive attitudes) may be incorporated in this view.

As there has been some evidence that the attitudes of Afrikaans and English speakers are different, these groups were treated separately and the Afrikaans group was chosen as a focus for the study, with the English group as a control group. The social structures and practices in South Africa reflect an imbalance in power. I have investigated the ideologies which have been found to be operative among Afrikaans-speakers, and maintain authoritarian political and social structures and practices. These are Racism, Afrikaner Nationalism, Patriarchy, Militarism and Conspiracy. The social attitudes of the Afrikaans-speakers are therefore expected to reflect ideas underpinned by these ideologies. It has been argued that the RWA scale developed by Altemeyer

(1981) measures ideologies of Nationalism, Patriarchy, Militarism and Conspiracy. The first aim in the empirical investigation is to test the assumption of the prevalence of these attitudes.

MacCrone (in Foster & Nel, 1991) found that Afrikaans-speakers evidenced a far narrower range of scores than English-speakers on a social distance measure. This notion of the homogeneity of the social attitudes of Afrikaans-speakers as a group supports the theory that there are ideologies which are strongly adhered to in the Afrikaans group. It was argued that these ideologies are particularly strong in the Afrikaans group because of the historical myth that as God's chosen people, Afrikaners have a calling to preserve the separateness of the volk. The legitimating power of the religious ideology within which the ideologies of nationalism, militarism, patriarchy and racism were framed, is implicated in the high prevalence of social attitudes which reflect these ideologies, among Afrikaners. The third aim of the study is to explore this hypothesis by investigating the variability of the responses of Afrikaans-speakers on these measures, in comparison to those of English speakers.

Miles (1989) argues that there are ideologies which operate on a wider scale than a particular social group, for example, in a Western context. He found a close correspondence between nationalism and racism as formal nineteenth century ideologies. Duckitt (1990, study 2) developed a Racism scale and found a correlation between RWA (underpinned by nationalist ideologies) and subtle racism (Duckitt 1990, study 3) which lends support to Miles' (1989) thesis. The fourth aim of the study is to investigate this relationship. The findings in Duckitt (1990, studies 2 & 3) suggest that authoritarian and racist attitudes are also prevalent in the English group. The fifth aim of the study is to show a significantly higher prevalence of RWA and Racism among Afrikaners to substantiate the hypothesis that the Afrikaners, as a group, support the ideologies. In keeping with the hypothesis that the religious ideology legitimates ideologies of nationalism, militarism, patriarchy and conspiracy, the sixth aim of the study is to demonstrate a high prevalence of religious commitment among Afrikaners, and a strong correlation between religious commitment and RWA, and religious commitment and racism.

Although theoretical issues have been raised with Loevinger's conceptualisation of ego development, the Washington University Sentence Completion Test (WUSCT) which was developed to measure the construct of ego development may be used as a measure of control to verify the theoretical position adopted in the study. Loevinger (1970, 1976) developed a manual which are categories of ideas (social attitudes) that women in the Western society generally adhere to. She theorises that the more developed "ego" is more free to move away from the norms

generally held by the group. The basis for deciding about the levels seems to reflect increasing cognitive sophistication, and the extent to which the individual's attitudes match those prevalent among some middle-class women in a Western society. The WUSCT is scored by using a manual which divides subjects into seven stages and three transitional levels (see Appendix B, Table B-1) of "ego development", which is (for the purposes of the study) interpreted as the extent to which group members adhere to social ideologies. The seventh aim of the study is to use the WUSCT as an alternative measure to the RWA scale, to show the homogeneity of the Afrikaans speakers in their social attitudes and the adherence to general group norms.

HYPOTHESES

- 1 The group of Afrikaans-speakers will score higher on the RWA, SCO and SR-4 scales, than the control group of English-speakers.
- 2 Afrikaans-speakers will score high on the measure of religious commitment Christian Orthodoxy (CO), pointing to the legitimating power of this ideology. Significant correlations with RWA and Racism are expected, as it is argued that this ideology legitimates racist and authoritarian discourses.
- 3 The homogeneity of the attitudes of the Afrikaans group will be reflected in the variance and range of responses on the RWA, the SR-4 and the religious commitment/Christian Orthodoxy/SCO scale.
- 4 Individual differences within the group will be reflected in the WUSCT, but the Afrikaans-speakers are expected to show greater adherence to group norms.
- 5 As similar ideologies underpin the attitudes measured by the RWA, and SR-4 scales, there will be a strong positive correlation between the scores obtained on these measures.
- 6 There will be a negative correlation between scores obtained on the WUSCT and RWA, SR-4 and SCO scales, respectively.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

1 SAMPLE

The total sample comprised 198 subjects, 101 English-speaking subjects, and 97 Afrikaans-speaking subjects. The questionnaires were collected by convenience sampling.

The variables race, gender, age, geographical location, religious affiliation and socio-cultural group were controlled in the study. Participants were white, Afrikaans or English-speaking women, who lived in the greater Cape Town area. As a measurement of Christian Orthodoxy was included in the study, only women who had no religious affiliation, or who were committed to a group of broadly speaking Christian orientation, were invited to take part. Women in the age group 30-45 years were asked to participate, as it was argued that their historical-cultural environment would be fairly similar. Information on marital status, geographical location, occupation, income and education was gathered to indicate the homogeneity of the sample.

Within social identity theory a group is seen as two or more individuals who identify themselves with the group. The subjective identification of subjects was therefore used in deciding about group membership for comparative purposes. Five women indicated that they had been brought up in the Jewish faith, but that they no longer hold to the beliefs and teachings of the group, and do not identify with the group socio-culturally. These questionnaires were included in the analysis. Eight questionnaires were not considered for the analysis, as the subjects were not suited to the criteria set out above. Nineteen participants had omitted nine or more sentences on the WUSCT, and these tests were excluded from the analysis.

2 MEASURES

The Questionnaire (see Appendix A) comprised a section for Biographical Data, the Washington University Sentence Completion test, the Right-wing Authoritarianism scale, the Subtle Racism scale and the Short Version Christian Orthodoxy scale. As the questionnaire was lengthy, the shorter forms of the Subtle Racism scale and the Christian Orthodoxy scale were used. The order in which the Biographical Data, the WUSCT and the scales were presented to subjects, was

randomised. The questionnaire was translated into Afrikaans by the researcher, who is bilingual, and then edited by a professional translator.

Biographical data

Subjects were required to state their age, marital status, occupation, income, highest level of education and the suburb in which they lived, in order to provide an indication of the homogeneity of the socio-economic status and the level of intellectual sophistication of each group separately. Secondly, the two groups could be compared to see whether differences in social attitudes between the groups may be due to an interaction between language group and socio-demographic variables, rather than a reflection of differences in social attitudes as such.

The section on biographical data required subjects to fill in the religion that they were brought up in and the socio-cultural group with which they identify. Subjects were asked to rate the extent to which they still accept the beliefs and teachings of the religion that they were brought up in on a seven-point Likert type rating scale ranging from "do not accept at all", to "accept completely". Subjects were required to rate the extent to which they thought that their views were similar to the views generally held by members of the socio-cultural group with which they identify. The purpose of the rating was to ensure that the variables religious affiliation and identification with group norms, were controlled.

Right-wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA)

Previous research findings with regard to psychometric properties suggest that Altemeyer's (1981) 30-item RWA scale is a psychometrically valid and reliable measure. Altemeyer (1981) reports 10 studies between 1973-1974, using a 24-item version of the RWA scale on student samples and one adult sample, where mean inter-item correlations of .18 and higher, and alpha coefficients of .84 and higher were obtained. Using a 24/26/28- item version in three student samples during 1976-8, Altemeyer obtained mean inter-item correlations of .18, and Cronbach's alphas of .86. A study using a 30-item version in 1978, yielded an inter-item correlation of .18, and a Cronbach's alpha of .86. Using a 30-item version on four student populations and one adult sample during 1979-1990, inter-item correlations of .18 and higher, and Cronbach's alphas of .86 and higher were obtained. A study on a student population in Moscow in 1990 yielded an inter-item correlation of .12, and a Cronbach's alpha of .81. Tarr & Lorr (1991) replicated the findings. Altemeyer reports that the first unrotated principal axis accounted for 23.3% of the total

variance. Nearly all items loaded $>.40$ on this factor. A promax rotation presented two factors. Twenty-four items loaded $>.40$ on the first factor, with six items having an item loading of $>.25$ on the second factor. Tarr & Lorr (1991) similarly report factor analyses which yielded a two-factor solution. The scale was successfully applied in the South African context by Duckitt (1990). He found that an unrotated principal axis factoring yielded two factors with eigenvalues greater than one. All factors had item loadings $>.40$ on the first unrotated factor, accounting for 67% of the variance.

In the study, the items on the RWA scale were answered on a seven- point rating scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The scale controls for acquiescence, but to decrease the possibility of acquiescent responses further, the categories "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" of the rating scale for items 3,4,8,9,10,11,12,16,17,19,20 and 28 were reversed. These items were randomly selected.

Washington University Sentence Completion Test (WUSCT)

Loevinger, Wessler and Redmore's (1970) WUSCT comprise 36-item incomplete sentence stems, which each subject is required to complete. Responses are rated to reflect ego development in conjunction with a categorised scoring manual (Loevinger et al, 1970). A Total Protocol Rating, derived from the individual item ratings, is assigned for each subject according to automatic ogive scoring rules (for inexperienced raters) or borderline ogive scoring rules (for experienced raters) provided in the scoring manual. As discussed in the introduction, the results are viewed as a measure of the extent to which a person adheres to attitudes generally held by the group.

The Total Protocol Ratings classify subjects into seven stages and three transitional levels of ego development, as shown in Appendix B, Table B-1. For the purposes of the study, the stages and levels were rank-ordered on a scale from 1-10, to enable correlational analysis. The scale ratings are viewed as ordinal rather than interval data.

Researchers have investigated the psychometric properties of the scale. Weiss *et al* (1989) concluded from their test/re-test study on a psychiatric outpatient sample, that the 36-item WUSCT was internally consistent (Cronbach's alphas of .88 and .89 and inter-item correlations of .18 and .19). Rater reliability and internal reliability were demonstrated (correlation coefficients of .71, and significant results from paired t-test investigations). These results were confirmed in other investigations (e.g. Loevinger et al, 1985 and Mc Crae & Costa, 1980).

Loevinger et al (1970) report construct validity investigations, where interview ratings and total protocol ratings correlated at the .82 level. The correlation between item ratings and total protocol ratings were at the .93 level. The studies mentioned, however, conducted the research by assuming that the WUSCT is a measure of ego development, which is not an assumption that is supported in this study.

Subtle Racism Scale (SR-4)

Duckitt's (1990) 4-item Subtle Racism Scale was used as a measure of subtle racist attitudes. Duckitt (1990) developed a 4-item scale (SR-4) from the strongest items obtained in his 10-item scale (SR). He demonstrated the SR-4 scale's reliability, yielding a Cronbach alpha of .86, as compared to .91 on the SR scale.

The categories "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" of the rating scale for items 1 and 4 were reversed, to decrease the possibility of acquiescent responses. These items were randomly selected.

Christian Orthodoxy Scale Short Version (SCO)

Orthodox Christianity is defined as "the acceptance of well-defined, central tenets of the Christian religion" (Fullerton & Hunsberger, 1982, p318). The short version, 6-item scale of the Christian Orthodoxy scale (SCO), (Fullerton & Hunsberger, 1982), was developed from the original 24 items Christian Orthodoxy Scale (CO), as there was a need for a shorter measure for use with a battery of instruments. The scale was developed on a student population (N=641) in Ontario.

Investigations of the psychometric properties of the scale suggest that it is a psychometrically adequate measure. Hunsberger (1989) cites data from five studies, in 1982-1988, involving 1725 participants indicating that the SCO approaches the properties of the original Christian orthodoxy scale. Mean inter-item correlations of .69 and higher and Cronbach's alphas of .93 and higher were obtained on the SCO scale.

In the present study, the categories "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" of the rating scale for items 2,5 and 6 were reversed, to decrease the possibility of acquiescent responses. These items were randomly selected.

3 PROCEDURE

Questionnaire administration

The researcher collected 52% of the questionnaires personally. Four suburbs, where the socio-economic status was estimated as middle-class, and which were known to have dominantly white Afrikaans-speaking residents or dominantly white English-speaking residents were targeted. Questionnaires were distributed at private homes, shopping centres and libraries. Only white women were approached and asked whether they were Afrikaans- or English-speaking. Subjects were told that the researcher was a Masters student in Psychology, and interested in women's ideas on social matters. Anonymity was stressed. Less than 3% refused to answer the questionnaire. The staff at an Afrikaans and an English magazine took part in the study. A well-known company in the city was approached to obtain permission to distribute questionnaires among the staff, but the English-speaking manager refused permission, as it was felt that approaching only white staff members would be insensitive towards those excluded. An Afrikaans-speaking manager at a well-known company in the northern suburbs refused permission for staff members to be approached, as it was felt that the content of the questionnaire was too personal. Questionnaires reported as lost comprised 6.6% of the total.

Eight research assistants collected the remaining 48% of the questionnaires. Assistants were briefed to follow the same procedure as the researcher did. Questionnaires not returned comprised 25.4%.

The questionnaire was self-administered. The study was introduced on the front page, outlining the purpose of the investigation. Confidentiality was again assured. Instructions were given for the WUSCT and the scales at the beginning of each instrument. For ethical reasons, subjects were asked to write down their names and addresses if they wished to have feedback on the study, on the last page of the questionnaire. Subjects were asked to indicate whether they would be willing to discuss the issues in follow-up interviews.

Scoring the questionnaire

Biographical data

Data was coded, entered on data sheets and frequency tables were drawn up. The coding and notation was checked by a research assistant.

Washington University Sentence Completion Test (WUSCT)

A bilingual, English-speaking clinical psychologist, who was a self-trained rater, scored the WUSCT. The rater was blind to the research objectives. To obtain an inter-rater reliability, a bilingual, Afrikaans-speaking counsellor, with post-graduate training in Psychology, also scored the WUSCT (see Chapter 3 for the results). Loevinger & Wessler (in Mc Crae & Costa, 1980) found the agreement between experts and self-trained raters at the .85 level of correlation. Response protocols were rated in a sentence by sentence manner, using the scoring manual. Total protocol ratings were calculated using the automatic ogive rules in the scoring manual. The score was then converted in rank order on a scale from 1-10.

Right-wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA scale)

The categories of the rating scale for items which had been reversed, were recoded and the items were scored on the 7-point scale, as for the rest. A total score was calculated for each subject. The scoring of scales and calculations was checked by a research assistant.

Subtle Racism (SR-4) Scale

The categories of the rating scale for items which had been reversed were recoded and the items were scored on the 7-point scale, as for the rest. A total score was calculated for each subject. The scoring of scales and calculations was checked by a research assistant.

Short version Christian Orthodoxy Scale (SCO scale)

The categories of the rating scale for items which had been reversed were recoded and the items were scored on the 7-point scale, as for the rest. A total score was calculated for each subject. The scoring of scales and calculations was checked by a research assistant.

Feedback of results to participants

The summary of the results will be sent to all subjects who had requested feedback on the results.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS:

Section A: Summary Statistics:

Descriptive and Comparative Statistics

APA format was not strictly adhered to in reporting the results. Firstly, for clarity purposes, some findings are discussed in this section. Secondly, for easy reference, tables were inserted in the text.

Comparison of mean total scores between the groups on the RWA, SCO and SR-4 scales

Hypothesis 1 predicted that the group of Afrikaans-speakers will score higher on the RWA, SCO and SR-4 scales than the control group of English-speakers. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the mean total scores of the two groups for each of the variables RWA, SR, and CO. The RWA total scale scores for 17 English subjects and 13 Afrikaans subjects, where there were five or fewer missing values, were adjusted pro-rata and included in the simple statistics. This procedure was not followed with missing values on the SR-4 and SCO scales, because these scales have few items. As the WUSCT is an ordinal scale it was not included in this analysis, but was subjected to other statistical procedures, which will be discussed below. Table 3.1 shows the descriptive statistics for the two groups and for the combined data set. All scores are rounded off to the second decimal.

Table 3.1 Simple Statistics

Variable	English					Afrikaans				
	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
RWA	94	115.49	31.71	44	196	93	146.94	24.86	69	191
SR	97	13.68	4.91	4	28	94	16.87	5.97	4	28
CO	85	31.79	10.00	6	42	87	39.93	3.80	23	42

Combined data

Variable	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
RWA	187	131.13	32.51	44	196
SR	191	15.25	5.67	4	28
CO	172	35.91	8.55	6	42

The findings indicate firstly that the mean total scores for each of the variables RWA, SR and CO were higher for the Afrikaans group, than for the English group. Secondly, a mean score of >120 on the RWA scale indicates that the group generally agrees with the items which express authoritarian attitudes, and disagrees with the items which propagate freedom of expression and broad nonconformity. The mean total score for the Afrikaans group fell in this range (mean = 146.94), while the mean total score for the English group, fell below this point (mean = 115.49). Thirdly, a mean total score >16 on the SR-4 scale indicates that the group in general holds subtle racist attitudes. The mean total score for the Afrikaans group is >16 (mean = 16.87). The mean total score for the English group is <16 (mean = 13.68). Fourthly, a mean total score >28 on the SCO scale indicates that the group generally supports Christian Orthodox beliefs. The Afrikaans and English group mean total scores are >28 (means = 39.93 & 31.79, respectively).

Paired t-tests were computed to test whether the differences between the means for the two groups on the RWA, CO and SR scores were statistically significant. The findings indicate that the differences for equal and unequal variances were all statistically significant, and that power was satisfactory for all calculations at the .05 significance level (Howell, 1992).

Table 3.2 T-Test Procedure

Variable: RWA									
GROUP	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Variances	T	DF	Prob>T
A	93	146.94	24.86	69	196	Unequal	7.55	175.9	.00
E	94	115.49	31.71	44	196	Equal	7.54	185.0	.00
For H0: Variances are equal, F' = 1.63 DF = (93,92) Prob>F' = 0.02									
Variable: CO									
GROUP	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Variances	T	DF	Prob>T
A	87	39.93	3.80	23	42	Unequal	7.03	107.3	.00
E	85	31.79	10.00	6	42	Equal	7.09	170.0	.00
For H0: Variances are equal, F' = 6.92 DF = (84,86) Prob>F' = 0.00									
Variable: SR									
GROUP	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Variances	T	DF	Prob>T
A	94	16.87	5.97	4	28	Unequal	4.03	180.0	.00
E	97	13.68	4.91	4	28	Equal	4.04	189.0	.00
For H0: Variances are equal, F' = 1.48 DF = (93,96) Prob>F' = .00									

Note: A = Afrikaans-speakers and E = English-speakers

Socio-demographic variables may affect the degree of prejudice in individuals (see Duckitt, 1990). It is possible that the differences between the two groups in the mean total scores on the SR-4, RWA and SCO scales, had been due to an interaction of language group with socio-demographic variables, and were not a true reflection of a difference in social attitudes. Chi-square tests were therefore computed on the variables collected in the Biographical Data questionnaire, i.e marital status, age group, occupation, income and education, to determine how homogeneous the two groups were on these variables. As there are missing values in each frequency table, the likelihood ratio chi-square values were considered (Howell, 1992). The chi-square values, and the likelihood ratio chi-square values are presented in Table 3.3. Frequency tables appear in Appendix C, Table C-1.

Table 3.3 Chi-square Tests: Socio-demographic variables: Afrikaans and English Groups

	DF	Value	Prob
MARITAL STATUS			
χ^2	4	20.02	.00
Likelihood Ratio χ^2	4	21.61	.00
AGE GROUP			
χ^2	3	3.94	.27
Likelihood Ratio χ^2	3	4.34	.23
OCCUPATION			
χ^2	5	5.10	.40
Likelihood Ratio χ^2	5	6.69	.25
INCOME			
χ^2	5	8.71	.12
Likelihood Ratio χ^2	5	8.99	.11
EDUCATION			
χ^2	3	4.90	.18
Likelihood Ratio χ^2	3	4.10	.17

The results of the chi-square tests show that marital status is not independent from language group. The phi coefficient value of .324 suggests that the interaction is significant. The Afrikaans sample consisted of more married women than the English sample. It falls beyond the scope of this study to investigate the influence of marital status on social attitudes, but the findings suggest that future research in this area is warranted. The groups are homogeneous with respect to age, income, occupation and education, and it may therefore be concluded that these variables were not interacting with language group to account for the differences found between the mean total scores of the Afrikaans and English groups on the RWA, SR and CO variables.

The second hypothesis that Afrikaans-speakers will score high on the measure of Christian Orthodoxy, was confirmed. The maximum scale score is 42. The mean score for the Afrikaans group was 39.93, with a standard deviation of 3.80. The English group mean score is 31.79, with a standard deviation of 10.00. The variance in the Afrikaans group was therefore much less in comparison to the variance in the English group.

Homogeneity of the attitudes of Afrikaans-speakers

The third hypothesis predicted that the homogeneity of the attitudes of the Afrikaans group will be reflected by the variance and the range of responses on the RWA, SR-4 and SCO scales. This finding was confirmed on the RWA and SCO scales. On the SR-4 scale the variance was larger in the Afrikaans group than in the English group. This finding will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The findings on the WUSCT, as shown in frequency distributions in Table 3.4, indicate that Afrikaans-speakers adhere to group norms more strongly than the control group.

Table 3.4 Frequency Table: WUSCT

	Level of adherence to group norms on converted scale from 1-10					
Group	5	6	7	8	10	Total
Afrikaans						
No. of Participants	6	51	21	1	0	79
% of Sample	7.59	64.56	26.58	1.27	.00	
English						
No. of Participants	7	27	29	9	1	73
% of Sample	9.59	36.99	39.73	12.33	1.37	
Total	13	78	50	10	1	152
Frequency Missing = 46						

The frequency table shows that 7.59% of Afrikaans-speakers fall in the conformist category, 64.56% lie on the transitional level between the conformist and conscientious stages, and 27.85% of the group fall in the non-conformist categories. In the English group 9.59% fall in the conformist category, 36.99% fall on the transitional level between the conformist and conscientious stages and 53.43% fall in the non-conformist categories. The interaction of language group and conformity to group norms was investigated through chi-square tests. Results are shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Chi-square Tests: Commitment to Group Norms: Afrikaans and English Groups

WUSCT			
	DF	Value	Prob
χ^2	4	15.93	.00
Likelihood Ratio χ^2	4	17.38	.00

The chi-square value for the WUSCT indicates that there is an interaction between language group and social conformity.

Individual differences within the group

The fourth hypothesis, that individual differences within the group will be reflected in the WUSCT, was confirmed. The findings, shown in Table 3.4, indicate that 27.85% of women in the Afrikaans group and 53.43% of women in the English group fall in the non-conformist categories. According to Loevinger's (1970) classification these women show self-evaluated standards, self-criticism and conceptual complexity, among other things.

Correlations of the RWA, SR and CO variables

Hypothesis five predicted strong correlations between RWA, SR-4 and SCO scale scores. Pearson product-moment correlations, calculated for these variables RWA, CO and SR, are shown in Table 3.6 for the two groups, and for the combined data set.

Table 3.6 Pearson's Product-moment Correlation Coefficients

	English-speakers		Afrikaans-speakers		Combined data	
Variables	N	r	N	r	N	r
RWA & SR	91	.60	91	.55	182	.60
RWA & CO	81	.44	84	.39	165	.54
SR & CO	83	.26*	84	.15**	167	.29
Note $p < .0001$ for all r 's except * and ** * $p = .02$ ** $p = .17$						

All correlations were significant, except the correlation between SR and CO in the Afrikaans group.

Correlations of all variables with the WUSCT

Hypothesis six predicted a negative correlation between scores obtained on the WUSCT, and RWA, SR-4 and SCO scale scores, respectively. As the WUSCT data is ordinal data, Spearman correlation coefficients were calculated for the WUSCT with RWA, SR and CO respectively. As shown in Table 3.7, all correlations were significant in the combined data set. The correlations between the WUSCT and other variables in the Afrikaans group, and the WUSCT and SCO scale scores in the English group, were not significant.

Table 3.7 Spearman Correlation Coefficients

	English			Afrikaans			Combined data		
Variables	N	r	p	N	r	p	N	r	p
WUSCT & RWA	70	-.34	.00	77	-.12	.30	147	-.33	.00
WUSCT & RA	71	-.24	.04	77	-.15	.20	148	-.27	.00
WUSCT & CO	65	-.11	.37	74	.06	.59	139	-.18	.04

In order to investigate whether the significant correlations between the variables CO and SR (in the English group and in the combined data set) could have been due to an intercorrelation between RWA and the predictor variables (CO and SR), partial correlations were computed

between RWA and SR with CO controlled, between RWA and CO with SR controlled, and between SR and CO with RWA controlled. The results are shown in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8 Partial Correlation Coefficients

Construct	Controlled	English	Afrikaans	Combined
RWA & SR	CO	.56	.54	.55
RWA & CO	SR	.37	.37	.48
CO & SR	RWA	.01	-.07	-.05

The partial correlation coefficients in the English and Afrikaans groups separately, and in the combined data set, show that CO influences the relationship between RWA and SR in some way. When CO is controlled, the partial correlation coefficient between RWA and SR for the two groups and for the combined data set ($r = .56, .54$ and $.55$, respectively) is smaller than the Pearson's product-moment correlations ($r = .60, .55$ and $.60$, respectively). Similarly SR has some effect on the relationship between RWA and CO, as the partial correlation coefficients are smaller for the Afrikaans and English groups separately and for the combined data set ($r = .37, .37$ and $.48$, respectively) when SR is controlled (Pearson's product-moment correlations are $.44, .39$ and $.54$, respectively). The interrelationship between SR and CO is, however, not strong. When RWA is controlled, the relationship between CO & SR is no longer significant (partial correlations are $.01, -.07$ and $-.05$ for the English group, the Afrikaans group and the combined data, respectively). It appears that either the relationship between CO and SR is spurious, or that RWA is an intervening variable between CO and SR. Hypothesis two predicted that the Christian Orthodox ideology has a strong legitimating power with regard to social practices. A strong intercorrelation between RWA and CO, and SR and CO was therefore expected. The results of the partial correlations do not confirm the hypothesis.

Correlational Construct equality for all the variables (RWA, CO, SR and WUSCT) between the Afrikaans and English groups were investigated to determine whether comparisons between the correlation coefficients in the two groups are warranted (Anderson, 1984). Results are shown in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9 Correlational Construct Equality

Correlational construct	t	Correlational construct	t
RWA & CO	-.27	WUSCT & RWA	1.38
RWA & SR	.54	WUSCT & SR	.56
SR & CO	.73	WUSCT & CO	.28
RWA & WUSCT	1.38		

Note: critical region at .05 level of significance $-1.96 < t < 1.96$

As shown in Table 3.9, all correlational constructs are equal at the .05% significance level, as the t-values fall within the critical region ($-1.96 < t < 1.96$).

Section B: Scale Validity and Reliability

Scale validity and reliability for the RWA, SR-4 and SCO scales were investigated by factor and item analysis. The reliability of the WUSCT was investigated by calculating a correlation coefficient between the scores allocated by two independent raters.

Validity

Factor analysis

It is recommended that factor analysis is conducted to determine the dimensionality of scales before item analysis is conducted to assess reliability. Item analysis has been found to indicate unidimensionality when two or more approximately equal item subtests comprising independent factors are contained within a single scale (McIver & Carmines, in Duckitt, 1990).

RWA Scale

The factor matrix for the scale met the structure principles laid down by Thurnstone (in Kerlinger, 1986). The scree test (Cattell, in Kerlinger, 1986) gave a very obvious break after the first factor and a possible break after the second factor (see Appendix C, Figure C-1). Only items with a factor loading $>.30$ were retained (Kerlinger, 1986). Kaiser's rule of eigenvalues greater than or equal to one (Kaiser in Kerlinger, 1986) showed that two factors should possibly be assessed. Factor 1 accounted for 72% of the variance and factor 2 for 8%. (See Appendix C, Table C-2 for the results of the unrotated principal axis factoring).

Orthogonal varimax rotation was performed. Factor loadings for all items are greater than $.30$ (see Appendix C, Table C-3 for the results of the rotated principal axis factoring). Factor 1 accounted for 52% of the variance, and factor 2 for 43%. The content of the item loadings which load more than $.60$ on the first rotated varimax factor, reflect authoritarian aggression and submission, as defined by Altemeyer (1981) (See Appendix C, Table C-3).

SR-4 Scale

The factor matrix for the scale met the structure principles laid down by Thurnstone (in Kerlinger, 1986). The scree test (see Appendix C, Figure C-2), and the rule of eigenvalues greater than or

equal to one indicated that only one factor should be extracted. This factor accounted for 82% of the variance. (See Appendix C, Table C-4 for the results of the unrotated principal axis factoring). Factor loadings for all items are $>.62$. The results suggest that the scale is unidimensional and valid. Duckitt (1990) reported a similar factor structure.

SCO Scale

The factor matrix for the scale met the structure principles laid down by Thurnstone (in Kerlinger, 1986). The scree test (see Appendix C, Figure C-3), and the rule of eigenvalues greater than or equal to one indicated that only one factor should be extracted. This factor accounted for 87% of the variance. (See Appendix C, Table C-5 for the results of the unrotated principal axis factoring). Factor loadings for all items are $>.59$. The factor solution suggests that the scale is unidimensional, measuring one construct only.

Item-analysis

Item analysis was conducted to investigate the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the scales, and to establish whether items which correlate low with the total scale score may be influencing the results.

RWA Scale

Pearson's product-moment correlations and alpha coefficients were calculated for each item with the total RWA score. Two items (items 16 & 21) correlate $<.3$ with the total score. All alpha coefficients are $>.93$. (See Appendix C, Table C-6 for the item means and standard deviations, and Table C-7 for the Pearson and alpha coefficients).

SR-4 Scale

Pearson's product-moment correlations and alpha coefficients were calculated for each item with the total SR score. The scale displays satisfactory content validity as all items correlated $>.55$ with the total score. (See Appendix C, Table C-8 for the item means and standard deviations, and Table C-9 for the Pearson and alpha coefficients).

Short Version CO scale

Pearson’s product-moment correlations and alpha coefficients were calculated for each item with the total CO score. The scale displays satisfactory content validity, as all items correlated >.55 with the total score (See Appendix C, Table C-10 for the item means and standard deviations, and Table C-11 for the Pearson and alpha coefficients).

Reliability

Internal reliability of the RWA, SR-4 and SCO scales was assessed using Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for the combined data. As illustrated in Table 3.10, adequate alpha coefficients indicate that the RWA, SCO and SR-4 scales were satisfactorily reliable.

Table 3.10 Scale Reliability

Scale	Cronbach r's
RWA	.93
SR	.79
CO	.89

WUSCT

As the scoring of the WUSCT is of a subjective nature, the inter-rater reliability was calculated. A Spearman correlation coefficient was calculated between the scores of the two raters for the Afrikaans group and English groups separately, and for the combined data set. Results are shown in Table 3.11

Table 3.11 Inter-rater Reliability: WUSCT

Group	N	Spearman's r
Afrikaans group:	77	.75
English group:	67	.56
Combined data	144	.67

Note: $p < .00$ for all r's

The inter-rater reliability, as shown in Table 3.11, is not satisfactory, particularly for the English group. This finding will be discussed below.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The ideologies operative among white, female Afrikaans-speakers

The results support the hypothesis that the social attitudes of the Afrikaans-speakers will be different from the English-speakers, indicating that there are differences in the ideologies operative in the two groups. It was argued that discourses of nationalism, patriarchy, militarism and conspiracy underpin the RWA scale. Should Afrikaners endorse the social attitudes measured on this scale and the SR-4 scale, it will support the findings of the historical analyses conducted, for example, by MacCrone, 1930; O'Meara, 1983; Du Toit, 1983; Burman & Reynolds, 1986; Du Preez, 1987; Cock & Nathan, 1989; Foster, 1991, who argue that these ideologies operate among Afrikaans-speakers. It was also argued that Afrikaans-speakers generally adhere to a religious ideology. Afrikaners scored significantly higher on the RWA, SR-4 and SCO scales than the English-speakers. The Afrikaans group mean scores fall in the range >120 for RWA, >16 for SR and >28 for CO, which indicates that group members generally support these attitudes. Although some English speakers support the authoritarian, conventional and racist attitudes, the group mean total scores fall in the range <120 for RWA and <16 for SR, which indicates that the group does not generally support the attitudes. English speakers do support the religious ideology, as the group mean total score falls in the range >28 .

As discussed earlier, socio-demographic variables have been found to affect the degree of prejudice and it was therefore important to determine how homogeneous the two groups were on these variables, before conclusions are drawn with regard to total mean scores. The results on the chi-square tests suggest that the groups are homogeneous with respect to age, income, occupation and education, and it may therefore be concluded that these variables did not affect the differences found between the mean scores of the Afrikaans and English groups on the RWA, SR and SCO scale scores. Marital status was not independent from language group. Frequency tables reveal that more single, English-speaking women than single, Afrikaans-speaking women were included in the study, which may account for some differences found between the groups. It raises the question of whether attitudes of single Afrikaans-speaking women would be less likely to reflect the attitudes generally adhered to in the group. The scores may have been lower had more single, Afrikaans-speaking women or more married, English-speaking women taken part in the study. To answer these questions adequately, a separate investigation needs to be

conducted. In previous research on social attitudes (referred to earlier) marital status has not been investigated as a possible contaminating variable. The focus has been on socio-economic status, language group, education and urbanicity.

It was mentioned earlier that intergroup relations have been the focus of attitudinal research in South Africa, but there has not been much empirical research using adequate psychometric measures. The findings of the study will therefore largely be compared with the findings of Duckitt (1990, studies 2 and 3), who implemented the RWA scale and constructed and validated the SR-4 scale. The descriptive statistics for the English group (RWA mean score = 115.49, SD = 31.71 and SR-4 mean score = 13.68, SD = 4.91) are in keeping with the findings among the 269 English students in Duckitt's (1990, study 2) sample. (RWA mean score = 118.1, SD = 31.8 and SR-4 mean score = 16.6, SD = 6.8). Duckitt (1990, Study 1) found that several socio-demographical factors influenced the level of prejudice among participants. Language group (Afrikaans, English and "other") was the most important predictor of degree of prejudice. Education predicted prejudice more powerfully within the English and "other" language groups. People with three years or more post-school education were significantly less prejudiced than those with less education. In the Afrikaans group, the best predictor was urbanicity. Persons living in metropolitan areas or large towns were less prejudiced than people in small towns. While it has been established that socio-demographic variables have not affected the comparison between the mean scores of the groups, it has not been established whether socio-demographic variables may have had an effect on the level of prejudice, in general. Considering the nature of the sample of the present study with regard to socio-demographic variables, the level of prejudice in this sample may not be the highest degree prevalent in other subgroupings. Duckitt's findings suggest that the level of prejudice is likely to increase in a sample of rural Afrikaans-speakers. This may also apply to levels of RWA and CO.

Although definitive conclusions may not be drawn from the observations, it is interesting to compare the factor analysis on the RWA scale items with the item mean scores for the two groups in view of the content of the scale items. Of the 10 items loading $>.60$ on the first factor of the RWA scale (Appendix C, Table C-6), seven items reflect the attitudes depicting authoritarian aggression and submission, and which have been argued here pertain to nationalistic, militaristic and patriarchal ideologies. (The picture is mixed for item loadings $<.60$, and for the items which load on the second factor). Considering the content of the scale items, the Afrikaans group item means (Appendix C, Table C-6) show that the 10 items which have the highest mean scores allude to the broad principle that authority (religion, parents and traditional norms) should be

respected and adhered to. In other words, the Afrikaans-speakers have, on average, endorsed the broad principle that traditional group norms should be respected. It was also argued that these are items underpinned by Afrikaans religious and/or patriarchal ideologies. The item mean scores in the English group were significantly lower overall. However, the attitudes which are accepted, on average, in the English group (scores $>.40$), correspond with the attitudinal items which had the highest mean item scores in the Afrikaans group (see Appendix C, Table C-6). It seems as if English-speaking participants, on average, rate their traditional group norms, handed down in the family and social group, as important. This finding supports the concept of self-categorisation theory in social identity theory, discussed earlier.

As expected, a significant correlation was found between the RWA and SR-4 scale scores. The correlation coefficient for the English group ($r = .60$) corresponds with the findings reported by Duckitt (1990, Studies, 2 and 3). (Study 2: $r = .69$, and Study 3: $r = .63$).

The legitimating power of the religious ideology

The support of Afrikaans-speakers for Christian Orthodox principles is very high. Although the total mean score for the English-speakers indicates that there is general support for religious principles in this group (the mean total score is >28), suggesting conservative values, there is a statistically significant difference between the total scale scores of the groups. The variability in the responses of Afrikaners is remarkably smaller than the variance in the English group.

It is not clear why the correlation between SR and CO was not statistically significant in the Afrikaans group. It may have been due to an interaction between the sample size and the lack of variability in the responses of the Afrikaans group, as the correlation in the combined data set is significant.

The interrelationship between the variables RWA, SR and CO was investigated. It was found that when RWA is controlled, the relationship between CO and SR is reduced to insignificance. The logical conclusion seems that either the relationship between CO and SR is spurious, or that RWA is an intervening variable between CO and SR. This finding does not support the hypothesis that religious ideology has a strong legitimating power with regard to racist social practices. It does, however, confirm that there is a relationship between RWA and CO, and RWA and SR. While the finding supports the position that ideologies of nationalism, militarism, conspiracy and patriarchy are related to religious commitment and to racism, the hypothesis that the ideology of

racism is interrelated with religious commitment is not supported. I have argued that religious ideology legitimates the above ideologies in the Afrikaans group, in particular. A difference in the interrelationship between the SR, RWA and CO correlation coefficients for the groups was not confirmed in the analysis. It may be worth considering the fact that the short version of the SR and the SCO scales were used. This does limit the participant somewhat. Had there been a wider range of items, the responses may have been different, yielding a stronger relationship between these variables. Foster (1991) argues that it is not sufficient to explain the maintenance of racial domination in South Africa by invoking the ideologies of apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism, as it excludes the role of capitalism. The picture is therefore more complicated, and it was possibly unrealistic to expect the emergence of a clear map of the relationships between these ideologies, through a statistical analysis.

The homogeneity of the Afrikaans group

The third hypothesis, predicting that the attitudes of the Afrikaans group will be homogeneous, as reflected by the variance and the range of responses, was confirmed on the RWA and SCO scales. On the SR-4 scale, however, the variance was larger in the Afrikaans group than in the English group. This result is not in keeping with MacCrone's finding (in Foster & Nel, 1991) that Afrikaans scores showed less variability on a measure of social distance than did English scores. Self-categorisation theory in SIT may offer an explanation in this regard. Individuals are exposed to social influences in the process of categorising self and others. In a social setting such as South Africa, where there is generally a high level of prejudice among both Afrikaans- and English-speakers (Duckitt, 1990; 1991) the responses of the two groups may be more similar on SR than on other measures. In keeping with the theoretical position adopted in the study, it may be argued that the racist ideology is operative in both groups, while the ideologies underpinning the RWA scale are supported more widely by the Afrikaners as a group.

The findings on the WUSCT confirm the fourth hypothesis that Afrikaans-speakers adhere to group norms strongly, in comparison to the control group. The frequency table reveals that 27.85% of women in the Afrikaans group in comparison to 53.43% of women in the English group fall in the non-conformist categories.

A correlational analysis between the variables WUSCT and RWA, SR and CO, respectively, showed that the negative correlations within the Afrikaans group were very low, and statistically insignificant. While still low, the correlations in the combined data set were statistically

significant, as predicted. This may be an indication that significant correlations would have been found in the Afrikaans group if the sample had been bigger. On the other hand, as will be discussed below, it may relate to the psychometric properties of the WUSCT.

Methodological issues: measures

Participants generally found the questionnaire interesting. Of the total sample 34.5% of the participants wanted feedback on the outcome of the study. However, it was a general complaint that the questionnaire was too long. This may have affected the responses to some of the scales. The rater on the WUSCT noticed a tendency for participants to make more flippant remarks towards the end of the protocols. It may also explain why there were so many omissions on the WUSCT. Participants frequently commented that they did not have room to discuss and motivate their personal views on the scales. The inter-rater reliability correlation coefficients on the WUSCT suggested that it may not be an adequate psychometric measure. There is a strong subjective element in the rating of the protocols. The clinician commented on her awareness of her own subjective responses to participants' viewpoints e.g. where people have a passive religious view, as opposed to a more active, critical approach. She also mentioned examples of her personal style in rating responses e.g. a tendency to rate more positively if a person is aware of discrimination (gender or racial). The fact that one rater was a trained clinician while the other rater has had post graduate training of a more theoretical nature may have influenced their orientation to, and scoring of, the protocols. Although both were bilingual, the one rater's first language is Afrikaans and the other's first language is English. The inter-rater correlation coefficient was particularly low for the English group. In view of the findings that Afrikaans women adhere to group norms more strongly than English women, it might have been difficult for the Afrikaans rater to score the English protocols. The WUSCT has one advantage above the summated rating scales in that it offers participants the opportunity to express their views in their own words.

The measures applied in the study are subject to the limitations of self-report inventories. Kerlinger (1986) mentions that summated rating scales often seem to contain response-set variance. Individuals tend to use certain types of responses, for example, extreme responses. This response variance confounds the attitude variance. The individual differences yielded by summated rating attitude scales have been shown to be due in part to response set and other similar extraneous sources of variance. From the theoretical position taken in the study, it could

be argued that these scales may elicit socially desirable and acquiescent responses, as the content of the attitudes measured on the scale are particularly relevant to social issues.

The theoretical position adopted in the study

The theoretical position adopted in the study is a cognitive-based approach which does not account for other dimensions of human experience, such as emotions. Within the social constructionist paradigm, there have been various contributions to the theory of the social construction of emotions (e.g. Armon-Jones, 1986; Harrè, 1986; Averill 1980, 1982, 1985; Coulter, 1979). Controversial issues in the literature of the construction of emotions include: i) Whether or not primary predisposed emotions exist; ii) the nature of physiological and emotional feelings; iii) the relation between emotions and cognitions. The limitations of the study in not dealing with the emotional component of the construction of subjectivity is recognised.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

The findings lend support to some of the hypotheses of the study. Previous empirical findings that there are differences in the social attitudes of Afrikaans- and English-speakers, were confirmed. The differences indicate a significantly higher level of racism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, conventionalism and commitment to Christian Orthodox principles among Afrikaans-speakers, than among English-speakers. The correlation between RWA and SR in South Africa, established in previous research findings, was confirmed. A correlation between RWA and CO was demonstrated, and a less significant correlation between CO and SR was found. The RWA, SCO and SR-4 scales proved to be valid attitudinal measures in the South African context, and findings may therefore be generalised.

Self-report correlational research does not permit definitive causal conclusions. However, the finding that the social attitudes of white, female Afrikaans-speakers as a group are more homogeneous than the English group suggests that there are definite group norms (ideological beliefs) which operate in the group. These may account for particular social practices and structures which are prevalent and may, in some ways, be different to the practices and structures of the broader Western social context. Although not investigated in this study, the ideologies operative in the English group may be closer in content to those of a broader Western group. The high scores on the attitudinal measures employed in the study support the historical analyses which have suggested that the ideologies of racism, nationalism, patriarchy, conspiracy and militarism, and a particular religious doctrine, manifest in the social attitudes of the Afrikaners. The proposed nature of the interaction of these ideologies was not shown in the study and remains a theoretical analysis, open for further investigation, using alternative methodologies.

CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS

The value of an understanding of social theory for clinical practice becomes clear when identity is viewed in a social perspective. Aspects of identity formation, for example, the way in which a woman views her role as a mother or wife, is central to clinical work. A woman's view of motherhood is constructed in the ideological beliefs about good and bad mothering, which are

generated in her social group. A battered woman probably has some ideas and feelings about herself related to her particular familial dynamics, which maintain the pattern of her passive enduring of suffering. Her submissiveness however, also fits into the wider context of a woman's role in a society where patriarchal power dominates social relations between men and women.

In psychodynamic psychotherapy in an object relations framework, an understanding of the social structures and practices in which the object relations of the patient have been formed, is beneficial. For example, a patient who has been brought up in an authoritarian social structure may have internalised a harsh judging part object which will be projected onto the therapist, who substitutes authority figures. Viewed in this context, performance anxiety may be generated by the fear of not meeting the rigid expectations of the internalised authoritarian part object. The stifling of a person's own creative potential in a dictatorial environment of rules and norms may lead to a rebelliousness (Duckitt, 1989), arising from a need for self-actualisation. Emotional discomfort may result from the conflict between the patient's own perceptions and the prescriptive values and norms of the social group. Psychodynamic psychotherapy is the process of making sense of the experiences which have structured the patient's personal and social identity. Identity determines the positionings taken up by him/her in the social discourses of every day life. Relevant clinical psychology will seek an understanding of the sociohistorical processes operative in constructing these positionings.

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APPENDIX A:
QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Participant

I am interested in your ideas. All information is regarded as confidential. You may remain anonymous should you prefer to do so.

If you are interested to know more about the study, please write your name and address in the space provided on the last page of the questionnaire and I will send you a short summary with regards to the purpose of the study.

I am a Master's student in Psychology at the University of Cape Town. The results of the study will be submitted in partial fulfillment of my degree. Most importantly however, it will help me and others, to understand a bit more about the complexities of people's minds. Your participation is therefore valuable, and much appreciated.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely

Rika van den Berg

Beste Deelnemer

Ek stel belang in jou idees. As jy dit so verkies, kan jy heeltemal anoniem bly. Al die inligting word as vertroulik behandel.

As jy graag meer omtrent die studie wil weet, skryf asseblief jou naam en adres op die laaste bladsy in die ruimte wat voorsien is, en ek sal vir jou 'n opsomming stuur van die doel van die studie.

Ek is 'n Meesterstudent in Sielkunde aan die Universiteit van Kaapstad. Die bevindinge van die studie sal voorgelê word ter gedeeltelike vervulling van graadvereistes maar dit sal ons ook help om die ingewikkeldhede van die menslike verstand 'n bietjie beter te begryp. Jou deelname is daarom betekenisvol en word hoog op prys gestel.

Baie dankie

Vriendelike groete

Rika van den Berg.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please supply information regarding the following details about yourself (make a tick in the box which applies to you)

1. Marital status:

never married ☐ married ☐ living together ☐
divorced ☐ widowed ☐

2. Age group:

30 - 35 ☐ 36 - 39 ☐ 40 - 45 ☐

3. The religion you were brought up in

Catholic ☐ Jewish ☐ Other ☐
Protestant ☐ None ☐ Specify _____

4. Please rate to what extent you, yourself now accept the beliefs and teachings of the religion which you were brought up in. Encircle the appropriate number on the following scale:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Do not
accept
at all

Accept
to an
extent

Accept
completely

Comment _____

5. The socio-cultural group with which you identify

English ☐ Afrikaans ☐ Jewish ☐ Other ☐ Specify _____

6. Please rate the extent to which you consider your views to be similar to those generally held by members of the socio-cultural group to which you belong by encircling the appropriate number.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all similar			Similar		Similar in most respects	

Comment _____

7. Occupation

Economically active	Employer (others work for you)	
	Self-employed (you work for yourself)	
	Employee (you work for others)	
	Temporarily unemployed (seeking work)	
Economically inactive	Student	
	Housewife	

8. Please specify your occupation _____

9. Please indicate
- i your income, if you are single or
 - ii your husband's income, if you are not earning
- or
- iii your joint income if you are both earning a salary

R 1 000 - R 2 000	<input type="checkbox"/>	R 3 000 - R 4 000	<input type="checkbox"/>	R 6 000 - R 7 000	<input type="checkbox"/>
R 2 000 - R 3 000	<input type="checkbox"/>	R 5 000 - R 6 000	<input type="checkbox"/>	More than R 7 000	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Highest level of education

Std 8	<input type="checkbox"/>	Std 10	<input type="checkbox"/>	Post-matric education	Post-graduate
				Specify _____	Specify _____

10. The suburb in which you live

VRAELYS

Verskaf asseblief die volgende inligting oor jouself. (Maak 'n regmerk in die blokkie wat op jou van toepassing is.)

1. Huwelikstaat:

nog nie ☐ getroud ☐ woon saam ☐
getroud nie ☐

geskei ☐ weduwee-
staat ☐

2. Ouderdomsgroep:

30 - 35 ☐ 36 - 39 ☐ 40 - 45 ☐

3. Meld asseblief die godsdiens waarin jy grootgemaak is:

Katoliek ☐ Joods ☐ Ander ☐

Protestants ☐ Geen ☐ Spesifiseer

4. Dui asseblief aan in watter mate jy nou die oortuigings en leringe van die godsdiens waarin jy grootgemaak is, aanvaar. Omkring die toepaslike nommer op die volgende skaal:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aanvaar glad nie			Aanvaar		Aanvaar Volkome	

Kommentaar _____

5. Die sosio-kulturele groep waarmee jy identifiseer

Engels ☐ Afrikaans ☐ Joods ☐ Ander ☐
_____ Spesifiseer

6. Dui asseblief aan in watter mate jou idees ooreenstem met die idees wat dié sosio-kulturele groep oor die algemeen handhaaf deur die toepaslike nommer te omkring.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stem glad nie ooreen nie			Stem ooreen		Stem meestal ooreen	

Kommentaar _____

7. Beroep

Ekonomies aktief	Werkgewer (ander werk vir jou)	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Self-werksaam (jy werk vir jouself)	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Werknemer (jy werk vir ander)	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Tydelik werkloos (soek werk)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ekonomies onaktief	Student	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Huisvrou	<input type="checkbox"/>
		<input type="checkbox"/>
		<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Spesifiseer asseblief jou beroep _____

9. Dui asb. aan
- i. jou inkomste as jy alleenlopend is
 - ii. jou man se inkomste as jy nie verdien nie of
 - iii. julle gesamentlike inkomste as albei 'n salaris verdien.

R 1 000 - R 2 000	<input type="checkbox"/>	R 3 000 - R 4 000	<input type="checkbox"/>	R 6 000 - R 7 000	<input type="checkbox"/>
R 2 000 - R 3 000	<input type="checkbox"/>	R 5 000 - R 6 000	<input type="checkbox"/>	Meer as R 7 000	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. Hoogste opvoedingsvlak:

Std 8	<input type="checkbox"/>	Std 10	<input type="checkbox"/>	Post-matric education	Post-graduate
				Specify _____	Specify _____

11. Die voorstad waarin jy woon

QUESTIONNAIRE

You will probably find that you agree with some of the following statements, and disagree with others, to varying extents. Please mark your opinion on the line below each statement by encircling the number according to the degree of your agreement or disagreement.

1. Given favourable conditions it is quite possible that black majority rule could result in a stable, prosperous and democratic South Africa.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly disagree Agree Strongly agree

2. The large scale extension of political rights to blacks will inevitably lead to chaos.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly disagree Agree Strongly agree

3. Although black living conditions should be improved, it is crucial for the stable development of the country that whites retain political control.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly disagree Agree Strongly agree

4. If all races were permitted to mix freely, they would probably live in peace.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly disagree Agree Strongly agree

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please fill out this sentence completion form. Notice that these are incomplete sentences. Please finish each one in any way you wish - there are no right or wrong answers. Please complete all 36 sentences on the two pages. In answer to the question you might raise, "Who is 'she'" - it can mean anyone, yourself or someone else. Give the sentences a certain amount of thought, but it is not necessary to spend too much time on each one.

1. When a child will not join in group activities.....
2. Raising a family.....
3. When I am criticized.....
4. A man's job.....
5. Being with other people.....
6. The thing I like about myself most.....
7. My mother and I.....
8. What gets me into trouble.....
9. Education.....
10. When people are helpless.....
11. Women are lucky because.....
12. A good father.....
13. A girl has a right to.....
14. When they talked about sex.....
15. A wife should.....
16. I feel sorry.....
17. A man feels good when.....
18. Rules are.....
19. Crime and delinquency could be halted.....
20. Men are lucky because.....
21. I just can't stand people who.....
22. At times she worried about.....
23. I am.....
24. A women feels good when.....

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please fill out this sentence completion form. Notice that these are incomplete sentences. Please finish each one in any way you wish - there are no right or wrong answers. Please complete all 36 sentences on the two pages. In answer to the question you might raise, "Who is 'she'" - it can mean anyone, yourself or someone else. Give the sentences a certain amount of thought, but it is not necessary to spend too much time on each one.

1. When a child will not join in group activities.....
2. Raising a family.....
3. When I am criticized.....
4. A man's job.....
5. Being with other people.....
6. The thing I like about myself most.....
7. My mother and I.....
8. What gets me into trouble.....
9. Education.....
10. When people are helpless.....
11. Women are lucky because.....
12. A good father.....
13. A girl has a right to.....
14. When they talked about sex.....
15. A wife should.....
16. I feel sorry.....
17. A man feels good when.....
18. Rules are.....
19. Crime and delinquency could be halted.....
20. Men are lucky because.....
21. I just can't stand people who.....
22. At times she worried about.....
23. I am.....
24. A women feels good when.....

- 25. My main problem is.....
- 26. A husband has a right to.....
- 27. The worst thing about being a woman.....
- 28. A good mother.....
- 29. When I am with a man.....
- 30. Sometimes she wished that.....
- 31. My father.....
- 32. If I can't get what I want.....
- 33. Usually she felt that sex.....
- 34. For a woman a career is.....
- 35. My conscience bothers me if.....
- 36. A woman should always.....

VRAELYS

Hierdie is sinne onvoltooid. Voltooi asseblief elke sin net soos jy wil - daar is nie regte of verkeerde antwoorde nie. Voltooi asseblief al 36 sinne op die twee bladsye. Jy mag dalk vra wie "sy" is - dit kan enigiemand, jyself of iemand anders wees. Dink na oor die sinne, maar dit is nie nodig om te veel tyd aan elkeen te bestee nie.

1. Wanneer 'n kind nie aan groepaktiwiteite wil deelneem nie
2. Om kinders groot te maak.....
3. Wanneer ek gekritiseer word.....
4. 'n Man se werk.....
5. Om saam met ander mense te wees.....
6. Die ding omtrent myself waarvan ek die meeste hou.....
7. Ek en my ma.....
8. Wat my in die moeilikheid laat beland.....
9. Opvoeding.....
10. As mense hulpeloos is.....
11. Vroue is gelukkig want
12. 'n Goeie pa.....
13. 'n Meisie het die reg om.....
14. Wanneer hulle oor seks gepraat het
15. 'n Getroude vrou behoort.....
16. Ek voel jammer.....
17. 'n Man voel goed as.....
18. Reëls is.....
19. Misdaad en oortredings kan stopgesit word.....
20. Mans is gelukkig want.....
21. Ek kan nie mense verdra wat.....
22. Soms het sy haar bekommer oor.....
23. Ek is.....
24. 'n Vrou voel goed as.....

25. My grootste probleem is.....
26. 'n Getroude man het die reg om.....
27. Die ergste ding omtrent vrouwees is.....
28. 'n Goeie Ma.....
29. As ek by 'n man is.....
30. Partykeer wens sy dat.....
31. My pa.....
32. As ek nie kan kry wat ek wil he nie.....
33. Sy het gewoonlik gevoel dat seks.....
34. Vir 'n vrou is 'n loopbaan.....
35. My gewete pla my as.....
36. 'n Vrou behoort altyd.....

VRAELYS

Jy sal waarskynlik in meerdere of mindere mate met sommige van die volgende stellings saamstem, en van party verskil. Dui asseblief jou mening aan deur die nommer op die skaal na elke stelling te omkring na gelang van die graad van jou eenstemmigheid, of verskil.

1. Onder gunstige toestande is dit heeltemal moontlik dat swart meerderheidsregering 'n stabiele, vooruitstrewende en demokratiese Suid-Afrika tot gevolg kan hê.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

2. Die grootskaalse uitbreiding van die politieke regte van swartes sal onvermydelik tot chaos lei.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

3. Alhoewel swart lewensomstandighede verbeter behoort te word, is dit van deurslaggewende belang dat blankes in beheer van die politiek moet bly.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

4. As alle rasse toegelaat sou word om vryelik te meng, sou hulle waarskynlik in vrede leef.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

QUESTIONNAIRE

You will probably find that you agree with some of the following statements, and disagree with others, to varying extents. Please mark your opinion on the line below each statement by encircling the number according to the degree of your agreement or disagreement.

1. Some of the worst people in our country nowadays are those who do not respect our flag, our leaders, and the normal way things are supposed to be done.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree			Agree		Strongly agree	

2. It is wonderful that young people today have greater freedom to protest against things they don't like, and to do their own thing.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree		Agree			Strongly disagree	

3. It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree		Agree			Strongly disagree	

4. It would be best for everyone if the proper authorities censored magazines and movies to keep trashy material away from the youth.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree		Agree			Strongly disagree	

5. People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree		Agree			Strongly disagree	

6. There is nothing immoral or sick in somebody being homosexual.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree			Agree		Strongly disagree	

7. The sooner we get rid of the traditional family structure where the father is the head of the family and the children are taught to obey authority automatically, the better. The old-fashioned way has got a lot wrong with it.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree			Agree		Strongly disagree	

8. There is nothing wrong with premarital sexual intercourse.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree			Agree		Strongly agree	

9. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree			Agree		Strongly disagree	

10. "Free speech" means that people should even be allowed to make speeches and write books urging the overthrow of the government.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree			Agree		Strongly agree	

11. It may be considered old-fashioned by some, but having a decent, respectable appearance is still the mark of a gentleman, and especially a lady.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree			Agree		Strongly disagree	

12. In these troubled times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring things up.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree			Agree		Strongly disagree	

13. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree		Agree			Strongly agree	

14. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree		Agree			Strongly disagree	

15. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree		Agree			Strongly agree	

16. The courts should be easier on drug offenders. Punishment does not do any good in cases like these.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree		Agree			Strongly agree	

17. If a child starts becoming unconventional and disrespectful of authority, it is his/her parents' duty to get him/her back to the normal way.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree		Agree			Strongly disagree	

18. In the final analysis the established authorities like parents and our national leaders generally turn out to be right about things, and all the protesters don't know what they're talking about.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree			Agree		Strongly agree	

19. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree			Agree		Strongly agree	

20. The real keys to the "good life" are obedience, discipline, and sticking to the straight and narrow path.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree			Agree		Strongly disagree	

21. It is best to treat dissenters with leniency and an open mind, since new ideas are the lifeblood of progressive change.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree			Agree		Strongly disagree	

22. The biggest threat to our freedom comes from the Communists and their kind, who are out to destroy religion, ridicule patriotism, corrupt the youth, and in general undermine our whole way of life.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree			Agree		Strongly agree	

23. The way things are going in this country, it's going to take a lot of "strong medicine" to straighten out the troublemakers, criminals and perverts.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree			Agree		Strongly agree	

24. It is important to protect fully the rights of radicals and deviants.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Agree Strongly disagree

25. Rules about being "well-mannered" and respectable are chains from the past which we should question very thoroughly before accepting.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Agree Strongly disagree

26. Once our government leaders and the authorities condemn the dangerous elements in our society, it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stamp out the rot that is poisoning the country from within.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly disagree Agree Strongly agree

27. The self-righteous "forces of law and order" threaten freedom in our country a lot more than most of the groups they claim are "radical" and "godless".

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly agree Agree Strongly disagree

28. A lot of our rules regarding modesty and sexual behaviour are just customs which are not necessarily any better or holier than those which other people follow.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Strongly disagree Agree Strongly agree

29. Students in high schools and at university must be encouraged to challenge their parents' ways, confront established authorities, and in general criticize the customs and traditions of our society.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree			Agree		Strongly disagree	

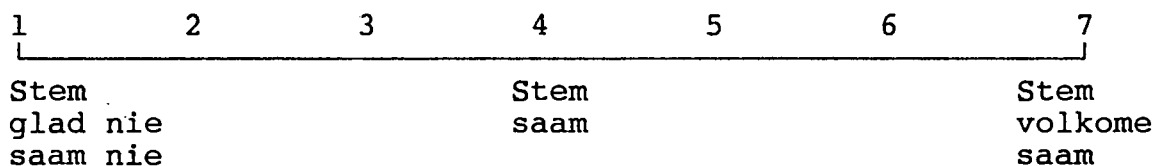
30. One reason we have so many troublemakers in our society nowadays is that parents and other authorities have forgotten that good old-fashioned physical punishment is still one of the best ways to make people behave properly.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree		Agree			Strongly agree	

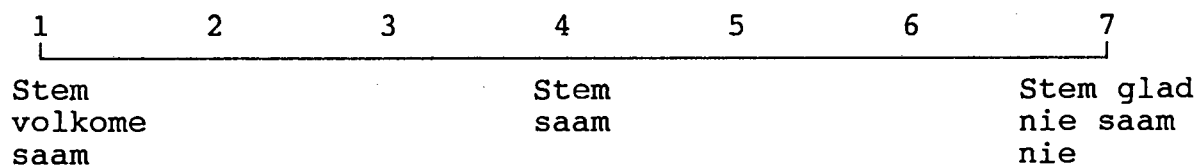
VRAELYS

Jy sal waarskynlik in meerdere of mindere mate met sommige van die volgende stellings saamstem, en van ander verskil. Dui asseblief jou mening aan deur die nommer op die skaal na elke stelling te omkring na gelang van die graad van jou eenstemmigheid of verskil.

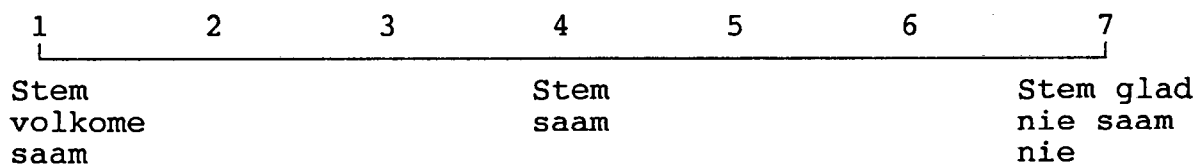
1. Van die slegste mense in ons land vandag is dié mense wat nie ons vlag, ons leiers of die gewone manier waarop dinge gedoen behoort te word, respekteer nie.



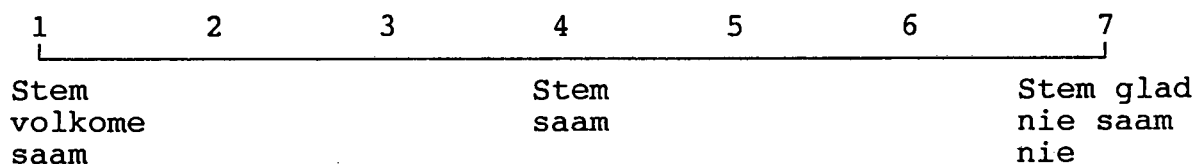
2. Dit is wonderlik dat vandag se jongmense groter vryheid het om beswaar aan te teken teen die dinge waarvan hulle nie hou nie, en om hulle eie ding te doen.



3. Dit is altyd beter om op die oordeel van die ware owerhede op regerings en godsdienstige gebied te vertrou in stede van te luister na die oproermakers in ons samelewing wat probeer om twyfel in mense se gemoedere te saai.



4. Dit sou vir almal beter wees as die regte owerhede sensuur uitoefen op tydskrifte en films om die kaf van die jeug af weg te hou.



5. Mense behoort minder vir hulle aan die Bybel en ander tradisionele vorme van godsdiensleiding te steur, en liever hulle eie persoonlike standarde van wat moreel of immoreel is te ontwikkel.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

6. Daar is niks immoreel of siek as iemand 'n homoseksueel is nie.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

7. Hoe gouer ons ontslae raak van die tradisionele gesinstruktuur waar die vader die hoof van die gesin is en die kinders geleer word om gesag outomaties te gehoorsaam, hoe beter. Daar is baie verkeerd met die outydse manier van doen.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

8. Daar is niks verkeerd met voorhuwelikse seksuele omgang nie.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

9. Die feite oor misdaad, seksuele immoraliteit, en die onlangse openbare wanordelikhede toon aan dat ons strenger moet optree teen afwykende groepe en oproermakers as ons ons morele standarde gaan red en wet en orde gaan handhaaf.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

10. "Vryheid van spraak" beteken dat mense selfs ook toegelaat behoort te word om toesprake te hou en boeke te skryf wat die omverwerping van die regering voorstaan.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

11. Dit kan dalk deur party mense as outyds bestempel word, maar om 'n ordentlike, fatsoenlike voorkoms te hê is nog altyd die stempel van 'n heer, en veral van 'n dame.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

12. In hierdie ongeruste tye behoort wette sonder genade toegepas te word, veral wanneer daar gewerk word met agitators en revolusionêres wat moeilikheid maak.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

13. Gehoorsaamheid en respek vir gesag is die belangrikste deugde wat kinders behoort aan te leer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

14. Ateïste en ander wat teen die gevestigde godsdienste gerebelleer het, is ongetwyfeld net so goed en deugsaam as hulle wat gereeld kerkdienste bywoon.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

15. Jong mense kry soms rebelse idees, maar soos hulle groot word behoort hulle dit te ontgroeï en tot bedaring te kom.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

16. Howe behoort nie so streng teen dwelmoortreders op te tree nie. In sulke gevalle dien straf geen goeie doel nie.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

17. As 'n kind onkonvensioneel en sonder respek vir gesag begin optree, is dit die ouers se plig om hom/haar terug te bring na die aanvaarbare lewenswyse.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

18. Op slot van sake blyk dit dat die gevestigde gesaghebbendes, soos ouers en nasionale leiers gewoonlik reg is oor dinge, en al die beswaardes weet nie waarvan hulle praat nie.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

19. Daar is absoluut niks verkeerd met nudiste-kampe nie.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

20. Die ware sleutels tot die "goeie lewe" is gehoorsaamheid, dissipline en vaskleef aan die reguit en smal weg.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

21. Dit is die beste om afwykendes sagkens en met 'n oop gemoed te behandel aangesien nuwe idees die lewensbloed van vooruitstrewende verandering is.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

22. Die grootste bedreiging vir ons vryheid kom van die Kommuniste en diesulkes, wat hulle daarop toelê om godsdienste te verwoes, ons patriotisme bespotlik te maak, die jeug te verlei, en oor die algemeen ons hele lewenswyse te ondermyn.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

23. Soos wat sake in hierdie land verloop, sal 'n groot klomp "sterk medisyne" nodig wees om die oproermakers, misdadigers en afwykendes reg te ruk.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

24. Dit is belangrik om die regte van radikale en afwykendes ten volle te beskerm.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

25. Reëls om "goedgemanierd" en fatsoenlik te wees is kettings uit die verlede wat ons eers deeglik behoort te bevraagteken voordat ons hulle aanvaar.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

26. As ons staatsleiers en die owerhede die gevaarlike elemente in ons samelewing veroordeel, sal dit die plig van elke patriotiese burger wees om die verrotting wat ons land van binne af vergiftig, te help uitwis.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

27. Die selfvoldane "magte van wet en orde" bedreig vryheid in ons land baie meer as die meeste van die groepe wat volgens hulle "radikaal" en "godloos" is.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

28. Baie van ons reëls oor nederigheid en seksuele gedrag is net gebruike wat nie noodwendig enigsins beter of heiliger is as dié wat ander mense eerbiedig nie.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

29. Studente aan hoërskole en universiteite moet aangemoedig word om hulle ouers se manier van doen te bevraagteken, gevestigde owerhede te konfronteer, en oor die algemeen die gebruike en tradisies van ons samelewing te kritiseer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

30. Een rede waarom ons soveel oproermakers in ons hedendaagse samelewing het, is dat ouers en ander owerhede vergeet het dat goeie outydse lyfstraf steeds een van die beste maniere is om goeie gedrag by mense te verseker.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam			Stem volkome saam

QUESTIONNAIRE

This survey includes a number of statements related to specific beliefs. You will probably find that you agree with some of the statements, and disagree with others, to varying extents. Please mark your opinion on the scale following each statement.

1. Jesus Christ was the divine Son of God.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree			Agree		Strongly agree	

2. The Bible may be an important book of moral teachings, but it was no more inspired by God than were many other such books in human history.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree			Agree		Strongly agree	

3. The concept of God is an old superstition that is no longer needed to explain things in the modern era.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree			Agree		Strongly disagree	

4. Through the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, God provided a way for the forgiveness of people's sins.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree			Agree		Strongly agree	

5. Despite what many people believe, there is no such thing as a God who is aware of our actions.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree			Agree		Strongly agree	

6. Jesus was crucified, died and was buried, but on the third day arose from the dead.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly agree			Agree		Strongly disagree	

VRAELYS

Hierdie opname bevat 'n aantal stellings wat op spesifieke godsdienstige oortuigings betrekking het. Jy sal waarskynlik in mindere of meerdere mate met sommige saamstem en van ander verskil. Dui asseblief na elke stelling jou opinie op die skaal aan.

1. Jesus Christus was die heilige Seun van God.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

2. Die Bybel is moontlik 'n belangrike boek van morele leringe, maar is net so min deur God geïnspireer as vele ander soortgelyke boeke in die geskiedenis van die mens.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

3. Die Godsbegrip van 'n God is 'n ou bygeloof wat nie meer in die moderne tydvak benodig word ter verduideliking van verskynsels nie.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem volkome saam			Stem saam		Stem glad nie saam nie	

4. Deur die lewe, dood en opstanding van Jesus het God 'n weg daargestel vir die vergifnis van mense se sonde.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

5. Ten spyte van wat baie mense glo, is daar nie so iets soos 'n God wat bewus is van ons dade nie.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem glad nie saam nie			Stem saam		Stem volkome saam	

6. Jesus is gekruisig, is dood, en is begrawe, maar het op die derde dag opgestaan uit die dode.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<hr/>						
Stem			Stem			Stem glad
volkome			saam			nie saam
saam						nie

If you would like to know more about the study, please write your name and address in the space provided below:

and

If you are willing to talk a bit more about some of these issues in a short interview, please write your name and telephone number in the space provided below:

Thank you once again for your participation

Rika van den Berg

As jy graag meer omtrent die studie will weet, skryf jou naam en adres in die ruimte wat hieronder voorsien word:

en

As jy verder wil gesels oor die onderwerp, sal ek dit baie waardeer. Skryf dan asseblief jou naam en telefoonnommer in die ruimte wat hieronder voorsien is.

Nogmaals baie dankie vir jou deelname

Rika van den Berg

APPENDIX B:

ADHERENCE TO GROUP NORMS:
Levels & Stages

APPENDIX B

Table B-1: Adherence to Group Norms: Levels & Stages

Stage	Code	Converted Scale Value	Impulse Control, Character Development	Interpersonal Style	Conscious Preoccupations	Cognitive Style
Presocial	I-1	1		Autistic		
Symbiotic					Self vs. non-self	
Impulsive	I-2	2	Impulsive, fear of retaliation	Symbolic		
Self-protective	Δ	3	Fear of being caught, externalizing blame, opportunistic	Receiving, dependent, exploitive	Bodily feelings, especially sexual and aggressive	Stereotype, conceptual confusion
Transitional Level	Δ/3	4		Wary, manipulative, exploitive	Self-protection, wishes, things, advantage, control	
Conformist	I-3	5	Conformity to external rules, shame, guilt for breaking rules	Belonging, helping, superficial niceness	Appearance, social acceptability, banal feelings, behaviour	Conceptual simplicity, stereotypes, clichés
Transitional Level	I-3/4	6				
Conscientious	I-4	7	Self-evaluated standards, self-criticism, guilt for consequences, long-term goals and ideals	Intensive, responsible, mutual, concern for communication	Differentiated feelings, motives for behaviour, self-respect, achievements, traits, expression	Conceptual complexity, idea of patterning
Transitional Level	I-4/5	8				
Autonomous	I-5	9	Add: Coping with conflicting inner needs, toleration	Add: Respect for autonomy	Vividly conveyed feelings, integration of physiological and psychological, psychological causation of behaviour, development, role conception, self-fulfilment, self in social context	Increased conceptual complexity, complex patterns, toleration for ambiguity, broad scope, objectivity
Integrated	I-6	10	Add: Reconciling inner conflicts, renunciation of unattainable	Add: Cherishing of individuality	Add: Identity	

Note: "Add" means in addition to the description applying to the previous level.

APPENDIX C:
STATISTICAL DATA

APPENDIX C

Table C-1 Frequency Table: Marital Status

[illegible]

Frequency Table: Age Group

	30-35	36-39	40-45	Total
A	44	37	11	92
	47.83	40.22	11.96	
	45.83	58.73	44.00	
E	52	26	15	93
	55.91	27.96	16.13	
	54.17	41.27	56.00	
Total	96	63	2	185

Frequency Missing = 13

Frequency Table: Income

[illegible]

Frequency Table: Education

	STD 8	STD 10	Post-matric	Post-graduate	Total
A	6	22	37	30	95
	6.32	23.16	38.95	31.58	
	30.00	46.81	56.92	53.57	
E	14	25	28	26	93
	15.05	26.88	30.11	27.96	
	70.00	53.19	43.08	46.43	
Total	20	47	65	56	188

Frequency Missing = 10

Frequency Table: Religious Upbringing

	Catholic	Jewish	Other*	Protestant	None	Total
A	1	1	17	75	2	96
	1.04	1.04	17.71	78.13	2.08	
	5.26	20.00	62.96	55.56	33.33	
E	18	4	10	60	4	96
	18.75	4.17	10.42	62.50	4.17	
	94.74	80.00	37.04	44.44	66.67	
Total	19	5	27	135	6	192
Frequency Missing = 6						
Note *:	Church of Jesus Christ of the latter day Saints, Church of Scotland, Jehovah's Witness, Ou Apostoliese Kerk van Afrika, Apostoliese Geloofsending, Sewende Dag Adventiste.					

Frequency Table: Occupation

	Employer	Self-employed	Employee	Un-employed	Student	House-wife	Total
A	3	7	70	2	0	13	95
	3.16	7.37	73.68	2.11	.00	13.68	
	75.00	53.85	50.72	50.00	.00	50.00	
E	1	6	68	2	4	13	94
	1.06	6.38	72.34	2.13	4.26	13.83	
	25.00	46.15	49.28	50.00	100.00	50.00	
Total	4	13	138	4	4	26	189

Frequency Missing = 9

Figure C-1 Scree Plot of Eigenvalues: Right-Wing Authoritarianism

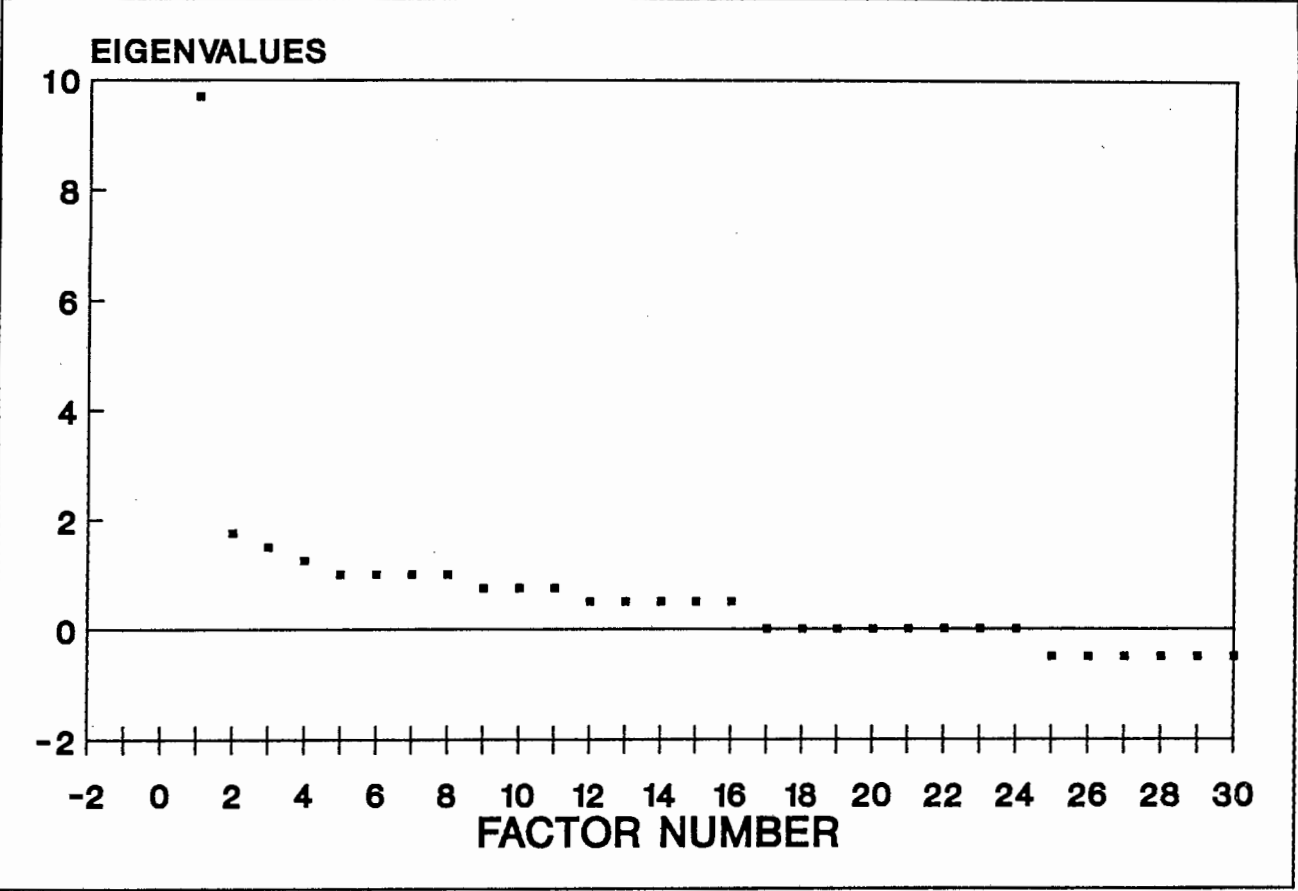


Figure C-2 Scree Plot of Eigenvalues: Racism

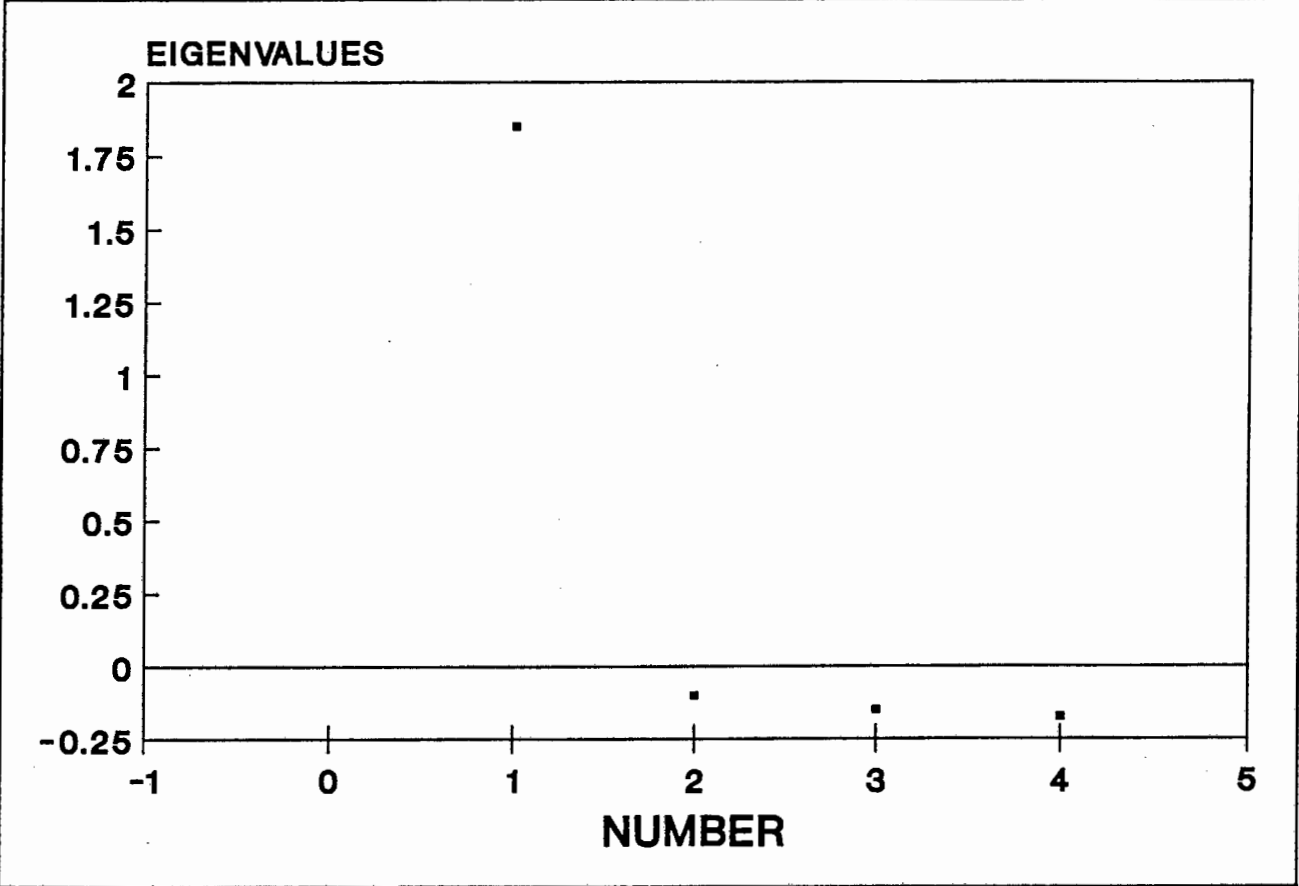


Figure C-3 Scree Plot of Eigenvalues: Christian Orthodoxy

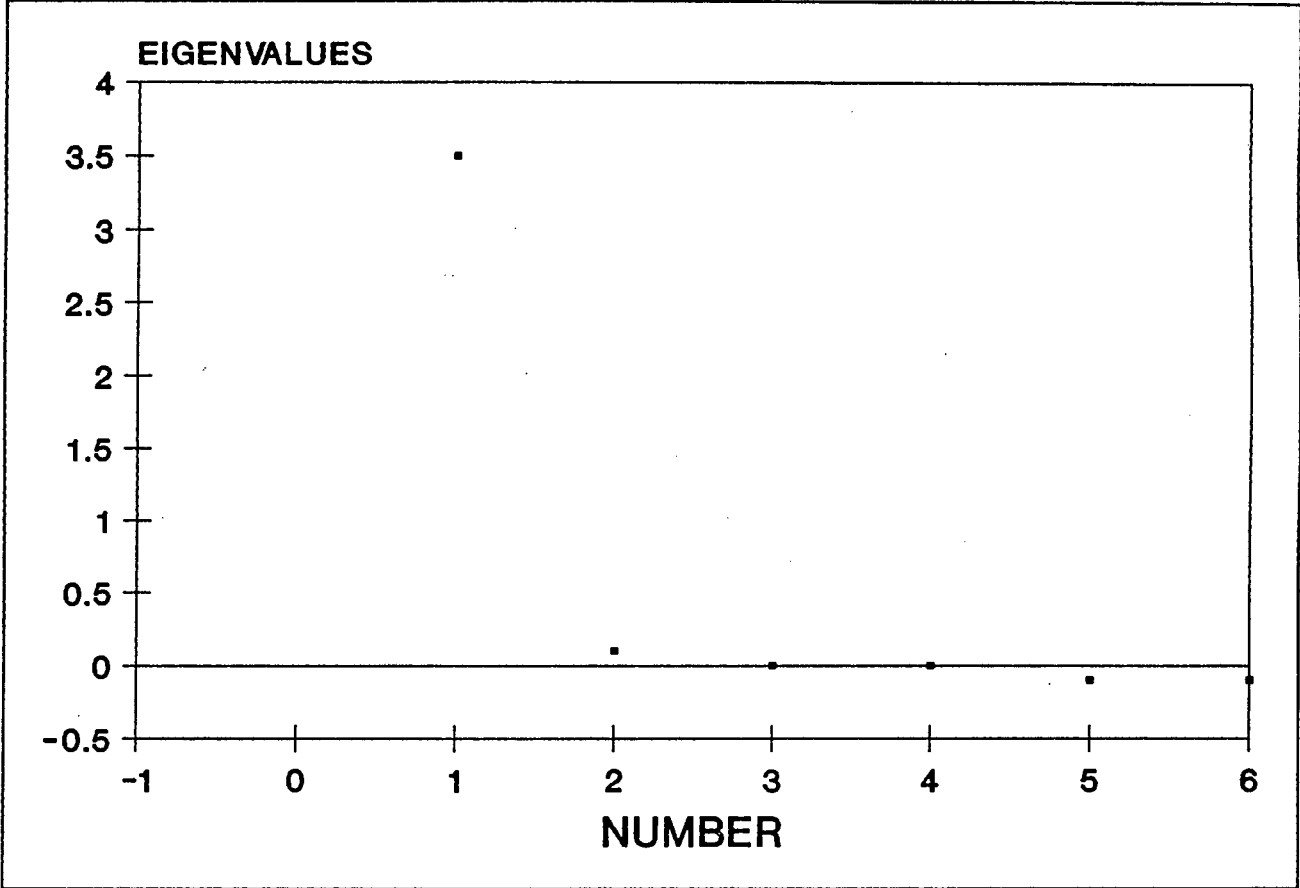


Table C-2 Unrotated Principal Axis Factoring: RWA Scale

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Communality
RWA3	.76	.	.62
RWA22	.75	.	.56
RWA23	.73	.	.57
RWA20	.73	.	.56
RWA9	.71	.	.53
RWA6	.70	.	.54
RWA12	.69	.	.55
RWA14	.68	.	.52
RWA17	.66	.	.46
RWA19	.65	.	.45
RWA29	.65	.	.48
RWA4	.65	.	.45
RWA26	.63	-.37	.53
RWA8	.61	.	.44
RWA13	.59	.	.43
RWA5	.58	.	.41
RWA30	.55	.	.34
RWA7	.55	.	.38
RWA24	.53	.37	.42
RWA10	.53	.	.28
RWA18	.53	.	.32
RWA11	.52	.	.30
RWA15	.50	.	.29
RWA27	.46	.	.29
RWA28	.45	.35	.32
RWA1	.45	.	.27
RWA2	.42	.	.22
RWA25	.36	.	.19
RWA21	.	.45	.26
RWA16	.	.	.10
Note Two factors retained on the basis of the scree test. Only items with loadings >.30 retained.			

Table C-3 Rotated Principal Axis Factoring: RWA Scale

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Communality
RWA3	.73	.	.62
RWA26	.73	.	.53
RWA12	.71	.	.55
RWA23	.69	.30	.57
RWA20	.68	.30	.56
RWA9	.65	.31	.53
RWA22	.65	.37	.56
RWA13	.64	.	.43
RWA17	.63	.	.46
RWA4	.62	.	.45
RWA18	.55	.	.32
RWA30	.54	.	.34
RWA15	.53	.	.29
RWA11	.52	.	.30
RWA1	.51	.	.27
RWA10	.43	.31	.28
RWA24	.	.61	.42
RWA6	.42	.61	.54
RWA14	.40	.60	.52
RWA29	.37	.58	.48
RWA8	.34	.57	.44
RWA5	.	.57	.41
RWA7	.	.55	.38
RWA28	.	.55	.32
RWA19	.42	.53	.45
RWA21	.	.51	.26
RWA27	.	.50	.29
RWA2	.	.42	.22
RWA25	.	.41	.19
RWA16	.	.32	.10
Note Two factors retained on the basis of the scree test. Only items with loadings >.30 retained.			

Table C-4 Unrotated Principal Axis Factoring: SR-4 Scale

Items	Factor 1	Communality
SR2	.69	.48
SR1	.69	.48
SR3	.67	.45
SR4	.63	.39

Table C-5 Unrotated Principal Axis Factoring: Christian Orthodoxy Scale

	Factor 1	Communality
CO4	.94	.88
CO1	.87	.76
CO5	.73	.53
CO2	.72	.51
CO6	.71	.51
CO3	.59	.35

Table C-6 Mean Scores for RWA Items

Item	Combined Data					English Group Mean	Afrikaans Group Mean
	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max		
RWA1	160	2.65	1.77	1	7		
RWA2	160	3.78	1.69	1	7		
RWA3	160	3.53	2.02	1	7		4.37
RWA4	160	3.30	1.91	1	7		
RWA5	160	5.83	1.63	1	7	5.22	6.40
RWA6	160	4.94	2.05	1	7	4.17	5.68
RWA7	160	5.42	1.74	1	7	4.73	6.07
RWA8	160	4.79	2.21	1	7		5.80
RWA9	160	4.33	2.02	1	7		5.10
RWA10	160	5.04	1.90	1	7	4.5	5.56
RWA11	160	4.95	1.92	1	7	4.40	5.48
RWA12	160	3.41	1.92	1	7		4.16
RWA13	160	4.43	2.08	1	7		5.02
RWA14	160	4.38	2.06	1	7		5.17
RWA15	160	4.31	1.54	1	7		4.76
RWA16	160	5.76	1.59	1	7	5.49	6.01
RWA17	160	4.86	1.83	1	7		5.72
RWA18	160	3.03	1.51	1	7		
RWA19	160	4.74	2.12	1	7		5.74
RWA20	160	4.12	2.07	1	7		4.91
RWA21	160	3.56	1.64	1	7		
RWA22	160	4.17	2.17	1	7		5.06
RWA23	160	3.94	1.98	1	7		4.41
RWA24	160	4.78	1.73	1	7	4.21	5.33
RWA25	160	5.28	1.80	1	7	4.78	5.76
RWA26	160	3.50	1.88	1	7		4.04
RWA27	160	4.61	1.65	1	7	4.29	4.90
RWA28	160	4.33	1.87	1	7		4.65
RWA29	160	5.57	1.50	1	7	4.97	6.13
RWA30	160	3.06	2.01	1	7		

Note English Group and Afrikaans Group: item mean scores > 4.00 indicating agreement with content of items

Table C-7 Item-Total Correlations: Items with Total RWA Score

Item	Correlation with Total	Alpha Coefficients
RWA1	.42	.93
RWA2	.42	.93
RWA3	.72	.93
RWA4	.61	.93
RWA5	.57	.93
RWA6	.67	.93
RWA7	.53	.93
RWA8	.59	.93
RWA9	.69	.93
RWA10	.51	.93
RWA11	.50	.93
RWA12	.66	.93
RWA13	.55	.93
RWA14	.66	.93
RWA15	.46	.93
RWA16	.18	.94
RWA17	.63	.93
RWA18	.50	.93
RWA19	.63	.93
RWA20	.70	.93
RWA21	.24	.94
RWA22	.71	.93
RWA23	.70	.93
RWA24	.52	.93
RWA25	.36	.93
RWA26	.58	.93
RWA27	.45	.93
RWA28	.44	.93
RWA29	.64	.93
RWA30	.53	.93

Table C-8 Mean Scores for SR-4 Scale Items

Item	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
SR1	191	4.52	1.75	1	7
SR2	191	3.34	1.67	1	7
SR3	191	3.49	1.95	1	7
SR4	191	3.91	1.88	1	7

Table C-9 Item-Total Correlations: Items with Total SR Score

Item	Correlation with Total	Alpha Coefficients
SR1	.62	.72
SR2	.62	.72
SR3	.59	.74
SR4	.55	.75

Table C-10 Mean Scores for SCO Scale Items

Item	N	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
CO1	173	5.82	1.95	1	7
CO2	173	5.90	1.70	1	7
CO3	173	6.17	1.58	1	7
CO4	173	5.84	1.93	1	7
CO5	173	6.35	1.43	1	7
CO6	173	5.86	1.91	1	7

Table C-11 Item-Total Correlations: Items with Total CO score

Item	Correlation with Total	Alpha Coefficients
CO1	.81	.86
CO2	.68	.88
CO3	.57	.90
CO4	.88	.81
CO5	.70	.88
CO6	.68	.88